DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 072 149 UD 013 185

AUTHOR	Triandis, Harry C.; And Others
TITLE	Black and White Hardcore and Middleclass Subjective Cultures: A Cross-Validation. Illinois Studies of the Economically Disadvantaged, Technical Report Number 14.
INSTITUTION	Illinois Univ., Urbana. Dept. of Psychology.
SPONS AGENCY	Social and Rehabilitation Service (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	ISED-TR-14
PUB DATE	Apr 72
NOTE	227p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87
DESCRIPTORS	Age Differences; Caucasians; Cultural Differences; Employees; Negroes; Racial Attitudes; *Racial Differences; *Role Perception; Sex Differences; Social Attitudes; Social Class; *Social Differences; *Stereotypes; Unemployed; *Work Attitudes

ABSTRACT

The research reported in this document was concerned with determining differences in subjective culture that might be associated with race, sex, social class, and age, and to cross-validate the findings of the previous four reports. Interviewers of the same race and sex as the persons studied were trained for approximately 18 hours using standard procedures, before going into the field. A factorial design was used to generate the types of people sampled. The design consisted of Race (black and white); Social Class (hardcore, working class, middle class), Sex, and Age (18 to 25, or 35 to 45 years old). Ten individuals were studied in each of the 24 cells generated by this design. The hardcore were defined as persons having few skills and little education, who in the opinion of the interviewer could work, but who report that they have not had a job for a year, although they tried to get one. The judgments required were presented in questionnaire form. The 240 persons were asked to make 128 judgments concerning the characteristics of categories of persons; 105 concerning their behavioral intentions toward such persons; 120 judgments concerning their role perceptions; 40 judgments concerning their job perceptions; 90 concerning the antecedent of certain events, and 90 judgments concerning the consequents of these events. (Author/JM)

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

ED 072149

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN
CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS 61820

Illinois Studies of the Economically Disadvantaged

BLACK AND WHITE HARDCORE AND MIDDLE CLASS SUBJECTIVE CULTURES: A CROSS-VALIDATION

Harry C. Triandis, David Weldon and Jack Feldman
University of Illinois

Technical Report No. 14
April, 1972

This investigation was supported, in part, by Research Grant No. 15-P-55175/5
from the Social and Rehabilitation Service
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C., 20201

Harry C. Triandis
Principal Investigator

VD 013185

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

Preface

This report is part of a series which is concerned with the economically disadvantaged. We have shown in previous reports, and we show again in this one, that economic disadvantages are associated with and presumably create characteristic ways of perceiving and thinking about the social environment. These ways of perceiving and thinking are in sharp contrast to the ways of perceiving and thinking which characterize the middle class and other non-disadvantaged groups. Such differences create barriers in communication between a disadvantaged employee and his supervisor, his fellow employees and his subordinates. Such barriers make it more difficult for such an employee to hold a job. If we are to rehabilitate such an employee we must train both the employee and the people in his job environment in ways which will reduce such barriers.

The present study is a summary of the descriptive work which specifies how the disadvantaged differ from the rest of the population. It is based on a sample of 240 individuals who differ in race, employment status, sex and age, but it also reviews previous work. It gives details of how the hardcore unemployed view their social environment and contrasts it with similar information obtained from other samples. At the end of this report there is a summary which gives a quick overview of the main findings.

This kind of information is useful in constructing cultural training materials. We have now written "culture assimilators" designed to train the disadvantaged on the one hand and the persons in their work environment on the other, based largely on the information included in this report. Our next step will be to test the effectiveness of these assimilators in improving the probability that disadvantaged workers will stay on the job and will be effective employees.

Harry C. Triandis

BLACK AND WHITE HARDCORE AND MIDDLE CLASS SUBJECTIVE CULTURES: A CROSS-VALIDATION[1]

Harry C. Triandis, David Weldon and Jack Feldman

University of Illinois

Subjective culture is a cultural group's characteristic way of perceiving its social environment. People who experience their environment in specific ways, because of their occupation (or unemployment), race, sex, age or other characteristics are likely to develop unique ways of perceiving their social environment. When people with different subjective cultures have to work together, misunderstandings, conflicts and other difficulties can develop that are traceable to the discrepancies in their perceptions of the social environment.

The analysis of subjective culture was first developed to study the way people, who utilize different languages, perceive their environment. Triandis, Vassiliou, Tanaka and Shanmugam (1972) presented a theoretical framework for the analysis of subjective culture, discussions of methodological problems, and data concerning the stereotypes, role perceptions and values of samples from several countries, including Greece, India, Japan and the United States. Triandis and Malpass (1970) published a field guide for the study of subjective culture. Other work (e.g., Triandis, 1967) had shown that interpersonal relations in international organizations are unusually difficult. One way of reducing these difficulties is to train individuals to appreciate

---

[1]The research reported here was supported by the Social and Rehabilitation Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Research Grant No. 15-P-55175/5 (Harry C. Triandis, Principal Investigator).

aspects of the subjective culture of others. A programmed learning approach, called a "culture assimilator," was developed for this purpose and validated in several cultures, including Thailand, Iran, Greece and Honduras. Fielder, Mitchell and Triandis (1971) have summarized this work, which suggests that culture assimilators can improve interpersonal relationships and adjustment in a foreign culture.

In recent years we have been concerned with the development of training procedures which might be useful in the case of black and white Americans interacting in job settings. The problems of black and white interactions in job settings are complex and difficult. They provide a real challenge to social scientists. Triandis and Malpass (1971) have discussed some of these problems and have suggested that it is more important to focus the cultural training on the whites than on the blacks, although both groups should be trained.

In order to provide some specific examples, concerning the black and white training situation, which might be improved with culture assimilator training, a couple of incidents will be described. (1) Many black ghetto residents look at the world with considerable mistrust and assume that most whites are racists. In the context of such beliefs, many of the actions of a white foreman are likely to be seen by the black worker as an expression of the foreman's racism. For example, if the foreman asks a black machinist to clean the floor around his machine, the machinist may attribute racism--"you asked me to do this dirty job because I am black." Unfortunately, there is considerable validity in the attributions of blacks, but there is undoubtedly a substantial number of foremen who are not racists. The problem is to teach the blacks to tell who is a racist and who is not. We have to teach them the cues which validly discriminate one type of white from the

other. As long as all whites are seen as racists, reduction of interracial tensions is difficult, if not impossible. On the other side of the fence, teaching a foreman that his behaviors are always under scrutiny and may be misunderstood as implying racism, makes it possible for him to modify his behaviors to make them difficult to misinterpret. For example, the foreman, in the previous example, might be told to say: "Please look around you and note that the white machinists clean the floor around their machines." (2) When blacks arrive late for an appointment, the white foreman is likely to attribute unreliability, laziness and other characteristics to the blacks. Again training the blacks to know that the whites are likely to misattribute, can provide the motivation for them to behave in ways which will invalidate the stereotype--i.e., be on time. On the other side of the fence, explaining to white foremen the difficulties of life without a watch, an alarm clock, a car, a dependable public transportation system, etc., may reduce the misattributions.

Culture assimilators consist of essentially three parts: (1) an episode which describes an incident involving blacks and whites; (2) four plausible interpretations of what happened, one of which is "correct," as judged by panels of black and white consultants, and the other three are "wrong." If the trainee picks the wrong answer he is told to re-analyze the situation and select another interpretation. If he selects the correct interpretation he is praised and told why it is correct. Thus, the third element is feedback which describes some principle. These principles reflect the analyses of black and white subjective cultures. Thus, in order to develop correct feedback, we need to know a great deal about black and white and hardcore and middle class subjective cultures.

In four reports, Triandis, Feldman and Harvey (1970; 1971a, b, c) have presented analyses of black-white and hardcore-middle class subjective cultures. The basic elements studied were person perceptions (stereotypes, behavioral intentions), role perceptions, job perceptions and the perception of implicative relationships among black and white adolescents and the hardcore unemployed.

When studying subjective culture there are two major sampling problems: (a) how to sample the judgments that we ask the individuals to make about aspects of their environment and (b) how to sample the individuals. Since the environment is very complex and has thousands of elements, as well as thousands of individuals, sampling is very difficult. Our approach was to sample rather widely the judgments in one set of reports, and the subjects in a different project. In the Triandis, Feldman and Harvey reports, mentioned above, we sampled widely the judgments. In the present report we sampled widely the subjects. In the previous reports, we studied about 20 individuals from four samples: hardcore black males, potential high school dropouts (both black and white males) and middle-class white females. The samples were selected to provide sharp contrasts and to allow some "triangulation" across diverse types of individuals. By comparing the highly heterogeneous white samples with two "problem" black samples we could learn something about racial differences and their relevance when blacks find employment in white establishments (where the whites will differ widely in social class and sex). By comparing the white and black high school boys we could examine racial differences while controlling for sex and social class (more or less, because the black lower-lower may not be exactly equivalent to the white lower-lower class). By comparing the black potential high school dropouts with the black hardcore we could see something about the probably changes that occur when a young black boy joins the ranks of the unemployed.

The 20 or so people in each of the above four samples were asked to make a very large number of judgments (4600) concerning the way they perceive their social environment. This type of massive data collection, from each individual, is impossible in a survey-research type of design. We used it in preparation for a survey. The problem was to reduce the complexity of this information to a smaller set of critical judgments, so that we could employ this smaller set with individuals varying in sex, age, social class, and race. By means of complex multivariate techniques, such as three-mode factor analysis, we reduced this massive data to about 600 judgments. These 600 judgments were then used in a new project, which will be reported in the present paper.

In the present paper we are interested in determining differences in subjective culture that might be associated with race (black-white), sex (male-female), social class (hardcore unemployed, working class, middle class) and age (18-25, 35-45), and to cross-validate the findings of the previous four reports.

Method

Data were collected by the University of Illinois Survey Research Laboratory. Interviewers of the same race and sex as the persons studied were employed. The interviewers were trained for approximately 18 hours, before going into the field, using standard procedures.

Samples. A factorial design was used to generate the types of people sampled. The design consisted of (a) Race (black and white); (b) Social class (hardcore-working class-middle class); (c) Sex; (d) Age (18 to 25 or 35 or 45 years old). We studied 10 individuals in each of the 24 cells generated by this design (2 x 3 x 2 x 2), or a total of 240 persons. The hardcore were defined as persons having few skills and little education, who in the opinion

of the interviewer could work, but who report that they have not had a job for a year, although they have tried to get one. Those with alcoholism or drug problems were excluded, as were people without jobs because of a severe physical or mental defect. In short, they were the "employable unemployed." The hardcore sample could also include high school graduates who have not attended college and "marginally employed" individuals, in that they have had no regular full-time jobs for at least three months but may have done occasional day labor. Spanish Americans, born in the United States, whose primary language is English, were included in the white group. Such individuals are likely to be more frequent in the white hardcore than in the other white samples. The 18-25 year-old middle-class sample consisted mainly of individuals attending college or graduate school. Such individuals may not have a job, but for purposes of this study they are defined as middle-class. Thus, a young individual without a job who is <u>not</u> going to college would be considered hardcore, but if he is going to college, he would be considered middle-class.

Inspection of biographical data sheets filled out by the samples shows the following: The black hardcore had at most a high school education, with 80% of the females claiming that they had graduated from high school, while only 30% of the males made a similar claim. The majority of the females indicated they were qualified for clerical work; the majority of males indicated that they could do manual or semi-skilled work. The white hardcore was very similar to the black hardcore in claimed educational attainment and job qualifications. About 85% of the females claimed they were qualified to do clerical work, and 80% claimed that they had graduated from high school. The males claimed high school graduation 70% of the time and the majority indicated qualifications for semi-skilled work.

The black working class did not seem to have significantly more claimed education than the black hardcore; they were engaged in either semi-skilled or low level clerical occupations. A similar picture emerged from the answers to our biographical data questionnaire from the white working class, who were very similar to the white hardcore in both education and qualifications. In short, the biographical data did not discriminate the hardcore from the working class.

The middle-class, on the other hand, is clearly different, with a significant majority claiming graduation from college or graduate school and holding professional jobs.

Instruments. The judgments required were presented in questionnaire form. The elaborate procedures which we used to develop these questionnaires will not be discussed here, since they are presented in full in Triandis, Feldman and Harvey. Suffice it to say that we asked the 240 persons to make 128 judgments concerning the characteristics of categories of persons (stereotypes); 105 judgments concerning their behavioral intentions toward such persons; 120 judgments concerning their role perceptions; 40 judgments concerning their job perceptions; 90 judgments concerning the antecedents of certain events and 90 judgments concerning the consequents of these events. The 573 judgments were made in groups of one to 10 individuals, with the interviewer checking comprehension of the instructions and supplying the definitions and explanations needed to complete the judgments. The task typically took between one and two hours to complete. The interviewer did not exert any time pressures, but left the subjects free to set their own pace.

Analyses. Each stimulus was judged on a set of scales and analyzed separately. The several scales were treated as different dependent variables

in a multivariate analysis of variance. This analysis allows us to learn whether the basic characteristics of the persons answering the questionnaire (race, social class, age, sex) or their interactions account for the variance observed in the dependent variables. We first performed overall multivariate analyses for each of the possible sources of variance, a step-down univariate test, and standard F-tests for each of the dependent variables. Only when the overall multivariate F-test was significant did we examine the univariate tests. The step-down procedure examines the significance of the nth variable, keeping the previous n-1 variables partialled out. Thus scales that have high correlations with other scales, but also some unique variance, may give significant effects both in combination with the other scales and alone.

Comment on Expected Results

In the present study we selected those stimuli which the previous study showed to be the "most interesting." There are two kinds of interesting stimuli: (a) stimuli on which the subgroups under study give quite similar responses; and (b) stimuli on which the subgroups under study give very different responses. We need to include some of the stimuli of type (a) to ensure that our methods of measurement do not produce artifactual differences. Thus, most family figures (mother, father) gave very similar results across subgroups in the previous study, but we included them here to calibrate our new findings. Other stimuli (e.g., black policeman) gave substantial differences in the previous study and we expected to obtain the same differences in the present study.

In comparing the results of the two studies it is desirable to keep in mind, also, the difference in the sampling and the number of individuals per cell in the two studies. In the previous study we sampled about 20 to 25 individuals per cell, but had only 4 cells; in the present study we sampled

10 individuals per cell, but had 24 cells. Thus, the present study is much larger, as far as the number of individuals studied is concerned. At the same time, the previous study involved (eight times) more judgments (stimulus x characteristic). Since we varied the breadth of the sampling in the two studies, we can expect some results to differ, just because of differences in the "context" of the judgments. Obviously, making several thousand judgments is different from making several hundred judgments.

Person Perception

In the previous study (Triandis, Feldman & Harvey, 1970) we employed several stimuli, such as mother, father, etc., and 20 characteristics, such as "intelligent." The 20 characteristics were selected so that 10 were the same across stimuli, and 10 were appropriate for the particular stimulus. For example, "intelligent" was a characteristic used for all stimulus persons, but "streetwise" was only used for the policemen, since it has little meaning for the other stimuli. In the present study we employed only the 10 characteristics which were common across the stimuli. Furthermore, in the present study we re-analyzed the data of the previous study to employ the same statistical procedure: multivariate analysis of variance. Thus, our comparisons of the previous study with the new data refers to (a) those analyses of each stimulus that were previously reported stimulus by stimulus (Triandis, Feldman & Harvey, 1970, pp. 47ff), (b) a re-analysis of the data of the previous study with multivariate analysis of variance, and (c) a multivariate analysis of variance of the present data.

Safe, Dependable and Giving Individuals (Ingroup Members)

MOTHER

The major finding of the previous study was that MOTHER was perceived uniformily by the samples. Everyone reported that she is intelligent, active,

hardworking and trustworthy, and not lazy, unimportant, and tough. The multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) showed that black high school students see their mother as more intelligent than do the white high school students ($p < .05$). On behavioral intentions, blacks saw themselves as less likely to help, go out with, trust and respect their mothers than did whites ($p < .005$). Furthermore, the hardcore blacks, when compared with high school blacks, indicated that they are more likely to stay away from her, but less likely to criticize her and to go out with her. In short, there is more distance between the hardcore and their mothers, but this could be a function of age.

Inspection of Tables 1 and 2, obtained from the present study, confirm the broad agreement among the samples concerning the meaning of mother. These tables, and all those that follow, present the means of the cells of the 24-cell design, on each of the variables. The judgments were made on a scale ranging from 0 to 9.

The present study did uncover some significant differences which were not obtained in the previous study. This is not surprising, since the present study employed a larger number of subjects and sampled a broader range of individuals--e.g., both middle- and lower-class blacks, while the previous study sampled only lower-class blacks.

We will now summarize the results of the multivariate analyses of variance based on the data of Tables 1 and 2.

(1) Blacks evaluated their mothers more positively (trustworthy, hardworking, intelligent, aggressive and not lazy) than did the whites. This result is dependable ($p < .0002$) and is reflected on all scales; but it occurs on the common variance of these scales, hence it reflects evaluation. No other effects were uncovered in Table 1.

Table 1

Stereotype of My Mother

Independent Variables			Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	8.8	7.8	8.0	6.5	1.3	1.7	4.8	6.4
			35-45	8.3	8.4	7.5	7.2	0.5	2.2	1.7	5.4
		Male	18-25	8.8	8.8	7.1	7.4	1.0	1.3	3.6	6.5
			35-45	8.4	8.2	7.3	8.0	0.5	2.0	4.5	6.2
	Working Class	Female	18-25	8.6	7.9	7.1	5.8	1.4	0.5	1.2	3.7
			35-45	8.2	7.4	7.5	6.4	0.7	0.8	3.2	5.6
		Male	18-25	8.7	8.4	7.6	7.2	0.8	0.9	3.8	6.0
			35-45	7.6	8.4	7.5	8.0	0.3	1.5	3.6	7.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.9	8.0	7.6	6.3	2.1	0.7	2.5	3.8
			35-45	8.7	7.7	7.3	7.5	1.5	1.0	3.3	6.1
		Male	18-25	7.1	7.6	7.5	5.2	2.0	1.6	3.8	4.7
			35-45	8.0	7.7	6.1	6.8	1.2	1.3	2.9	5.2
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.7	7.4	6.2	6.4	2.3	1.0	4.5	4.5
			35-45	7.3	7.3	6.4	6.7	1.5	1.8	1.1	3.5
		Male	18-25	7.1	7.2	5.4	7.2	1.1	1.8	3.8	5.8
			35-45	8.1	8.5	7.5	6.4	0.7	0.0	2.8	4.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.9	8.1	6.6	6.3	1.7	0.6	2.9	3.4
			35-45	8.3	7.0	5.9	6.4	1.5	0.9	2.3	4.0
		Male	18-25	7.6	8.2	7.5	8.1	1.1	1.4	5.0	6.8
			35-45	8.0	8.0	5.9	5.9	1.4	1.1	2.6	4.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.7	6.9	6.6	6.2	2.2	1.5	3.2	3.3
			35-45	7.5	7.8	6.6	6.7	1.9	1.3	5.0	4.4
		Male	18-25	7.7	7.1	6.8	6.1	2.4	2.3	3.4	3.2
			35-45	7.2	7.4	5.9	6.6	1.2	1.4	3.4	3.9

Table 1 (Continued)

[ ] Variable is constant.

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0002$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that blacks see their mothers as more trustworthy, more intelligent and more aggressive than whites see their mothers. In addition the multivariate tests indicate that the significant effect for hardworking (black mothers more hardworking) is due to common variance with trustworthy as is the significant effect for lazy (blacks see their mothers as less lazy).

Table 2

Behavioral Intentions toward My Mother

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.8	4.1	7.6	8.1	2.0	0.9	6.0
			35-45	7.4	4.1	8.6	9.0	1.8	1.0	5.5
		Male	18-25	7.9	4.3	8.1	9.0	1.7	3.0	6.0
			35-45	7.3	2.2	8.0	8.8	1.1	2.1	5.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.9	3.4	8.5	8.7	2.0	1.5	5.3
			35-45	7.2	2.8	8.5	8.3	1.3	1.2	4.3
		Male	18-25	7.7	2.4	8.4	8.9	3.6	2.1	3.7
			35-45	6.8	4.4	8.8	9.0	2.5	2.7	4.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.8	3.2	7.1	7.2	2.6	2.4	5.2
			35-45	7.1	3.6	8.2	8.8	2.4	1.4	2.9
		Male	18-25	6.1	2.6	8.2	8.7	3.1	2.7	3.5
			35-45	8.2	5.3	8.7	8.8	1.7	1.2	4.4
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.9	5.4	6.1	6.3	3.6	3.0	3.5
			35-45	6.4	4.9	7.0	7.5	3.1	1.9	3.9
		Male	18-25	6.5	3.4	6.5	7.8	2.0	3.4	3.5
			35-45	6.6	5.3	8.9	8.7	1.9	1.5	5.4
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.9	4.0	8.6	8.4	3.5	1.4	5.8
			35-45	7.5	4.1	8.5	8.6	3.1	1.8	4.7
		Male	18-25	6.0	2.4	7.0	7.3	4.7	3.3	3.7
			35-45	7.3	4.6	8.5	8.7	2.3	1.1	4.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.3	5.6	8.0	7.8	5.3	2.7	3.9
			35-45	6.9	4.6	7.6	7.8	3.4	1.7	3.8
		Male	18-25	6.1	3.4	8.1	7.8	4.6	2.3	3.2
			35-45	6.2	4.5	8.4	8.1	4.4	2.6	2.8

Table 2 (Continued)

☐ Constant variable

1. Contrast for race ($p < .0001$) -- Blacks are more likely to help, respect and ask for advice from their mother; whites are more likely to go out with and criticize their mother as shown by multivariate and univariate tests.

2. Contrast for socioeconomic status ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show members of the working class as most likely to trust their mother; hardcore members as least likely; middle-class members are most likely to criticize; hardcore least likely; hardcore are most likely to ask for advice; middle-class members least likely.

3. Contrast for sex ($p < .0059$) -- Males are both more likely to respect and stay away from their mothers according to univariate and multivariate tests.

4. Contrast for age ($p < .0026$) -- Older people are more likely to trust their mother; younger people are more likely to criticize her according to univariate and multivariate tests. Variance unique to "ask for advice" shows younger people are more likely to ask. Univariate tests indicate older people are more likely to respect their mother. This appears to share common variance with trust; younger people are more likely to stay away, with this item sharing variance with criticism.

(2) Consistent with the above, blacks reported that they were more likely to help, respect, and ask for the advice of their mothers ($p < .0001$); whites were more likely to go out with her and to criticize her. Thus, we replicate the greater reverence for mother among blacks obtained in the previous study.

(3) There are several effects which reflect differences due to socio-economic level. On the variable to trust, the working class subjects are high; the hardcore low and the middle-class intermediate. On to criticize the pattern is that the middle class are relatively high, the hardcore low and the working class intermediate. On asking for advice, the hardcore is high and the middle class low ($p < .0001$).

(4) Males are both more likely to stay away and to respect their mothers ($p < .006$).

(5) Older persons are more likely to respect and trust her ($p < .003$) and young people to both stay away and criticize her. However, the younger are also more likely to ask for her advice.

In summary, there is a broad tendency for all subjects to give similar responses to this stimulus, but some deviations from this pattern can be noted: Blacks in the present study tend to evaluate her more highly, as do those who are older. There is a suggestion of greater ambivalence (or cognitive complexity--we cannot distinguish the two) among white, older, males and the middle class.

Discussion of Mother. There is some inconsistency between the results of the previous and the present study. In the previous study the blacks were less likely to help, trust and respect their mothers than were the whites; in the present study the pattern is reversed. Specifically, the mean response, with N's around 20 individuals per cell, were about 5.1 on the help scale for

the blacks, and 7.5 for the white samples of the previous study. In the present study the means for the 24 cells, based on 10 individuals per cell, were as low as 6.1 (young middle-class males) and as high as 8.2 (old, middle-class, black males). The hardcore blacks average around 7.5, which is much higher than the previous samples (5.1).

One possible explanation is that the high school students and the hardcore of the previous study were much more "extreme" on the deprivation scale; the survey research interviewers may have been unable to locate such extreme cases. Another possibility is that in the previous study the interviewers gained more rapport, or eliminated socially desirable responses to a greater extent. Such explanations are also consistent with the significantly higher positive evaluation of MOTHER by the survey sample blacks.

On the other hand, we do have also some consistencies in the findings of the previous study and the present study: Blacks appear to see their mothers as more intelligent, and to be less willing to criticize her or go out with her. The rest of the findings are not particularly important. The matriarchical form of social organization of the black ghetto family may result in the exceptionally positive image of MOTHER, in this environment, which is coupled with greater distance.

FATHER

In the previous study the middle-class college girls were particularly likely to see their father as strong (intelligent [8.1], ambitious, honest, proud and masculine) and to evaluate him highly. They were also less likely to avoid him than the other samples. The black hardcore were less likely to employ a traditional child-to-father role in their perceptions (respect, not stay away from, trust, ask for advice, etc.). Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) indicated that in the previous study the blacks saw their

father as less trustworthy, intelligent, and important and more aggressive than did the whites ($p < .003$). There was also a dependable trend ($p < .002$) for the whites to indicate that they are more likely to help their father, than was the case with the blacks.

In the present study there were no race main effects. A race by sex interaction, however, indicated that black females and white males see their father as less active than do white females and black males. Black males, who are not middle-class, are particularly likely to see their father as aggressive, a result which reflects both a positive evaluation and unique variance in this scale ($p < .02$).

The main effects obtained in the present study were that males saw their father as more aggressive than females ($p < .0006$) and the young saw him as less trustworthy, more lazy and more tough than the older persons ($p < .007$).

Tables 3 and 4 include the relevant means. In the second table we also see a race main effect which is significant ($p < .006$), according to which blacks are more likely to respect and whites are more likely to criticize their father. In both the previous and the present study FATHER was trustworthy, hardworking, intelligent, active, and not lazy, unimportant and tough. Nevertheless, there are differences in emphasis that are reflected in our summaries both above and below this paragraph. Similarly, in both studies the individuals indicate they would not criticize, go out with or stay away from their father. However, there is a major discrepancy on the behavioral intentions to respect, trust, help and ask for advice of father, with the previous data showing a much more negative set of behavioral intentions than the present data. For example, on ask for help, the old samples ranged from 2.8 (hardcore blacks) to 3.5 (high school blacks) while the new samples, shown in Table 4, range from 2.4 to 5.9.

Table 3

Stereotypes of My Father

Independent Variables			Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS										
Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.5	7.7	7.1	6.6	1.1	1.9	3.8	6.3
		35-45	8.5	8.5	7.5	7.6	0.9	2.2	3.6	6.4
	Male	18-25	6.7	8.8	7.4	7.3	2.2	2.0	7.0	6.8
		35-45	8.4	8.7	7.4	7.9	1.0	2.1	6.8	7.7
Working Class	Female	18-25	6.5	7.4	5.9	5.3	2.6	1.4	4.4	4.3
		35-45	8.4	8.2	7.5	6.9	1.0	0.2	3.2	5.7
	Male	18-25	6.0	6.8	7.1	6.3	2.3	2.0	6.9	6.5
		35-45	7.7	8.3	8.3	8.0	0.3	1.2	5.7	7.5
Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.2	5.9	6.3	4.9	4.1	2.1	4.1	4.0
		35-45	8.6	9.0	7.0	7.3	1.0	0.5	4.4	5.4
	Male	18-25	7.5	7.5	6.4	7.0	1.4	1.6	5.6	4.8
		35-45	6.2	7.2	6.4	6.2	2.1	2.3	5.0	5.5
WHITES										
Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.1	7.6	6.2	6.9	1.4	1.2	4.6	3.3
		35-45	6.8	7.4	6.0	7.0	0.6	0.7	2.9	5.1
	Male	18-25	6.7	6.7	6.7	6.0	1.0	2.4	5.4	6.8
		35-45	7.5	8.3	6.6	7.2	0.9	1.3	4.5	6.1
Working Class	Female	18-25	7.8	8.6	8.0	8.1	1.2	1.7	4.0	3.4
		35-45	7.6	7.9	6.2	6.4	1.1	0.9	3.8	4.4
	Male	18-25	7.3	8.5	7.5	6.3	1.7	1.6	5.9	5.7
		35-45	7.3	7.5	6.1	6.2	2.2	2.1	4.2	5.6
Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.1	7.7	6.6	6.3	2.0	1.3	4.9	5.1
		35-45	7.4	6.8	6.7	6.5	2.8	1.9	4.7	3.9
	Male	18-25	7.8	8.1	6.6	6.2	1.7	2.1	5.3	5.7
		35-45	7.0	7.2	6.3	6.2	2.5	1.8	4.3	5.1

Table 3 (Continued)

☐ Variable is constant.

1. Main effect for socioeconomic class ($p < .07$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that hardcore members see their fathers as less lazy and more aggressive than the working class see their fathers, and the working class see their fathers as less lazy and more aggressive than the middle-class see their fathers (i.e., a linear increase with decreases in social status).

2. Main effect for sex ($p < .0006$)-- Females see their fathers as less tough and less aggressive than males do (for both univariate and multivariate tests).

3. Main effect for age ($p < .007$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests confirm that young people see their fathers as less trustworthy, more lazy and more tough than older people see their fathers.

4. Race x sex interaction ($p < .02$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that black females and white males see their fathers as less active than black males and white females see their fathers; in addition black males see their fathers as much tougher than black females or whites see their fathers. Finally, the multivariate F-tests indicate that, within variance unique to aggressive, black males see their fathers as very aggressive while white females see their fathers as very unaggressive (black females and white males are intermediate).

Table 4

Behavioral Intentions toward My Father

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.0	3.6	7.3	8.4	1.5	0.7	5.1
			35-45	6.1	3.4	8.4	8.8	1.4	0.6	5.0
		Male	18-25	6.2	3.3	6.9	8.1	1.4	2.0	5.5
			35-45	6.1	2.8	6.8	8.4	1.0	2.2	5.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.8	2.1	7.0	7.8	2.4	2.5	3.9
			35-45	5.6	2.1	7.7	7.8	1.9	2.5	3.3
		Male	18-25	6.2	3.5	7.1	7.7	3.7	3.9	3.4
			35-45	7.2	4.0	8.3	8.2	3.6	3.0	3.7
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.6	2.3	6.3	6.4	2.4	2.3	2.4
			35-45	7.4	3.9	8.8	8.7	1.5	0.6	3.2
		Male	18-25	6.3	3.8	8.3	8.2	3.1	3.1	3.8
			35-45	5.1	4.5	5.9	7.3	3.9	3.9	3.8
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.5	3.6	6.0	6.0	3.7	3.7	3.6
			35-45	4.9	3.0	5.7	6.5	2.3	2.4	3.6
		Male	18-25	4.8	3.5	6.3	6.9	1.3	3.9	3.5
			35-45	6.6	4.7	7.5	7.9	2.3	2.8	4.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.4	3.4	8.7	8.7	1.7	5.0	5.2
			35-45	5.9	4.0	8.1	8.5	3.0	2.0	4.4
		Male	18-25	5.7	2.1	6.6	7.4	2.9	3.6	2.9
			35-45	7.2	4.7	7.6	7.9	2.8	1.9	4.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.6	4.5	7.1	7.2	5.6	3.2	4.0
			35-45	6.0	3.9	7.6	7.7	3.1	1.9	3.0
		Male	18-25	5.1	2.7	7.3	6.2	4.7	3.8	2.6
			35-45	5.1	3.6	7.4	7.2	4.3	3.1	2.9

Table 4 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0063$) -- Blacks are most likely to respect their father while whites are most likely to criticize theirs according to univariate and multivariate tests.

2. Main effect for socioeconomic status ($p < .0001$) -- There is a linear progression in criticism of the father with hardcore the least likely and middle class the most likely to do so; there is a similar pattern in the reverse direction with respect to asking for advice with hardcore the most likely and the middle class the least likely according to both univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests show variance unique to respect with the working class most likely to respect their father and the middle class least likely.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .0075$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate males are most likely to stay away from their father.

4. Interaction--race x socioeconomic status ($p < .0050$) -- Blacks of hardcore and middle class status and whites of working class are most likely to respect their father; whites of hardcore and middle class are most likely to criticize as well as blacks of working class; and whites of all classes are the most likely to stay away from their father according to univariate and multivariate tests. Univariate tests show blacks of hardcore and middle class and whites of working class are most likely to stay away from their father. This item appears to share common variance with "stay away from" though it is inversely related.

We also obtained a strong ($p < .0001$) socioeconomic status effect, in the present study. The higher the social class the more likely were the subjects to indicate that they would criticize their father. Note that 4.5 is the middle of the scale we employed in this study, and only the means of the young, middle-class whites are over the point. The hardcore are most likely to ask for advice and the middle class are least likely. There is also some unique variance in the respect scale, which shows the working class most likely to be high and the middle class least likely to be high on this behavioral intention.

There is a dependable sex main effect ($p < .007$): Males are more likely to stay away from their fathers than are females. Finally, there is a race by status interaction ($p < .005$) according to which the black hardcore and middle class and the white working class are more likely to respect their father than the other samples, the white hardcore and middle class are more likely to criticize him; the blacks of the hardcore and middle class and the whites of the working class are most likely to indicate that they would stay away from their fathers.

Another way to look at the data is to examine on each variable the means of those cells which are very different from the means of the other cells. For example, all cells are below the midpoint for going out with father, with the exception of the older, middle class, black males, and the older hardcore and working-class, white males. Only the young middle-class whites are above the midpoint on criticizing him; only the young working-class females are above the midpoint in staying away from him.

Perhaps the most interesting finding from the present study is the contrast between the white and black middle class. The whites, particularly the young, give a more ambivalent or complex set of responses to both parental

figures. It is possible that there is more of a generation gap in the white than in the black middle class; however, another explanation is that the black middle class are more likely to give socially desirable responses. If the latter is the correct explanation, there is still a need for determination of the reasons for this phenomenon.

Discussion of FATHER. There is broad agreement about the reactions toward this stimulus, although there are differences in the emphasis obtained from different samples.

Non-middle class black males are likely to see their father as more aggressive than white samples. The correlations of aggressive with other traits suggest that it has positive meaning--go getting, effective--as opposed to nasty.

The greater ambivalence or complexity to both parental figures by the middle class is consistent with the lower F-scale scores obtained from such samples in previous research.

MYSELF

In the previous study we did not study this concept. However, in view of the extensive literature (reviewed by Symonds, 1969) which argues that blacks have a lower self-esteem than whites, it was felt desirable to include it in the present study.

Table 5 presents the relevant means. We note that all samples see themselves as trustworthy, hardworking, intelligent, active, not lazy, not unimportant, and they differ greatly on the way they see themselves on tough and aggressive. Specifically, old females give themselves very low scores on tough, and males tend to give themselves relatively high scores; young, white females give themselves very low scores on aggressive and hardcore and working class blacks give themselves relatively high scores.

Table 5

Stereotypes of Myself

Independent Variables				Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.3	7.0	7.5	7.2	2.0	2.5	4.4	6.4
			35-45	8.0	8.3	7.8	7.4	0.7	0.4	2.0	6.1
		Male	18-25	7.4	7.6	7.7	7.9	2.4	2.6	4.6	5.8
			35-45	7.1	6.8	6.1	7.9	0.9	3.8	5.0	6.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.9	7.8	7.4	6.1	1.3	0.4	2.2	4.2
			35-45	8.2	7.6	6.8	6.6	1.9	1.5	2.5	5.9
		Male	18-25	7.0	7.1	7.4	5.9	2.6	1.1	4.4	7.1
			35-45	7.6	7.5	8.0	7.1	0.9	3.7	4.0	7.4
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.2	6.3	7.2	5.5	2.8	1.1	2.5	4.0
			35-45	7.8	7.5	7.2	7.4	2.6	1.4	3.8	6.3
		Male	18-25	7.7	6.2	7.6	7.3	2.6	1.5	4.4	6.7
			35-45	8.4	8.0	7.4	7.7	2.5	1.7	5.0	5.7
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.4	7.0	6.0	6.7	2.4	0.8	3.2	3.8
			35-45	7.4	7.7	5.9	6.9	2.0	0.9	1.5	4.4
		Male	18-25	7.0	5.8	5.7	5.4	2.2	1.4	3.5	4.8
			35-45	7.4	6.7	6.0	7.2	1.4	1.5	3.6	4.8
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.3	6.8	5.8	6.2	2.4	1.4	1.9	2.9
			35-45	8.0	8.0	5.8	6.5	1.9	3.3	1.7	3.0
		Male	18-25	7.1	7.3	6.8	7.1	3.3	2.1	4.0	5.6
			35-45	7.6	7.9	6.3	6.9	2.0	2.8	4.6	4.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.6	7.1	7.0	6.7	2.9	1.6	2.5	3.6
			35-45	8.0	6.7	7.1	6.3	2.6	2.2	4.0	4.8
		Male	18-25	7.5	6.4	7.6	6.1	3.8	1.6	3.5	4.4
			35-45	8.0	7.3	7.1	7.5	2.3	2.0	4.6	5.9

Table 5 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Blacks see themselves as less lazy, more intelligent, and more aggressive than whites see themselves in both univariate and multivariate tests.

2. Main effect for socioeconomic class ($p < .0012$) -- Multivariate tests indicate that the working class see themselves as more hardworking than the hardcore and middle class see themselves (after variance for trustworthy is removed). Also univariate and multivariate tests indicate that the middle class see themselves as more intelligent and more lazy than the hardcore or working class.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that females see themselves as less aggressive, less tough and more important than males see themselves.

4. Main effect for age ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that young people see themselves as less trustworthy, less hardworking, more lazy and more important than older people do. There is also a univariate effect for active (young see themselves as less active), but multivariate test suggests this may be due to common variance with trustworthy. Finally, the multivariate tests indicate that younger people see themselves as more intelligent than older people see themselves (significant only when variance due to trustworthy and hardworking have been removed).

5. Race x socioeconomic class interaction ($p < .05$) -- Blacks see a linear increase of intelligence with social class while whites see themselves as a linear increase of IQ with social class. Also, white working-class see themselves as less important than white hardcore and middle class while for blacks there is a significant linear increase in feelings of importance with increases in socioeconomic status.

The multivariate analysis of variance gave a strong ($p < .0001$) race effect with blacks giving themselves higher scores on intelligent and aggressive (a positive trait for lower class blacks; see later in this report) and lower scores on lazy than was true of the white samples. The working class see themselves as more hardworking than either the hardcore or the middle class ($p < .0012$), but the middle class see themselves as more intelligent than the other social classes. Finally, the hardcore and working class see themselves as less lazy than does the middle class.

A strong sex main effect ($p < .0001$) indicates that females see themselves as less aggressive and tough than males, but also as more important. All samples saw themselves as highly important, but the females used the extreme point of the scale more frequently than the other samples.

A highly dependable main effect for age ($p < .0001$) shows the young seeing themselves as more important, lazy, and intelligent than the older sample, but less extreme on the variables trustworthy and hardworking. This pattern might suggest an age main effect for self-esteem, with the young higher on self-esteem.

Finally, we obtained a weak race by socioeconomic level interaction ($p < .05$) according to which blacks see themselves as equally intelligent, no matter what their social class, but whites show a linear increase in self-perception of intelligence with increased social class. On the variable importance, however, the pattern changes, with the blacks seeing themselves as more important the higher their social class.

Discussion of MYSELF. The basic question is which index to utilize as the index of self-esteem. On the basis of the way the various scales behaved it seems most reasonable to adopt the scale unimportant. This is particularly so, in view of the increase in self-importance scores with social class.

If we adopt this index and use 2.5 as the cut-off, we find essentially two groups with low self-esteem: the old working class, both black and white, and the black hardcore (with the exception of the older hardcore women). It seems reasonable that the old working class might have low self-esteem. They probably cling to the Protestant Ethic of success, yet they did not make it in the system, nor can they hope to make it because of age. The hardcore blacks are another such group, where hopelessness maybe a major aspect of self-perception.

Partial Summary: Self and Ingroup

The broad pattern of findings of the previous study, which showed few differences in the perception of parents, was replicated. We did obtain several differences in the present study, none of which, however, are of great consequence for black-white interactions in job settings.

People With Status and Authority

TEACHERS

The main finding from the previous study was that hardcore subjects considered teachers as less important; the white college girls had a positive image and showed little social distance from them; the high school subjects, both black and white, avoided them. The MANOVA of the previous study showed that the hardcore blacks differ from the high school blacks ($p < .0001$): They see teachers as less intelligent and lazy and more unimportant (3.9 instead of 1.9). There is also a tendency ($p < .05$) for the black high school boys of the previous study to see teachers as less important and more aggressive than their white counterparts. The blacks see themselves as less likely to help and go out with a teacher than do the whites ($p < .03$).

In the present study we obtained a main effect for race ($p < .03$) according to which the blacks see teachers as less extreme on the hardworking but more extreme on the intelligent scale; furthermore, they see them as more aggressive than do the whites. There was also a dependable ($p < .001$) socio-economic effect which indicates that the middle class are less extreme in their ratings of teachers on the intelligence scale. There is also a negative relationship between social class ratings of teachers as being extreme on the active and lazy scales.

Turning to the behavioral intentions, shown in Table 7, we found a strong main effect for social class ($p < .0001$) which suggests that the middle class are more complex in viewing TEACHERS. Specifically, they are more likely to indicate on the one hand that they would go out with and criticize them, and on the other hand less likely to stay away from, and to respect them. A sex main effect ($p < .02$) indicates that males are more likely to stay away from them. The younger samples are more likely to ask them for advice. The univariate tests indicate much common variance between trust and respect and inversely with criticize; the younger subjects are lower on this dimension than the older samples. A sex x age interaction ($p < .07$) suggests a trend for the older males to be more likely to trust TEACHERS than for the younger males to do so. A race x social class x age interaction ($p < .06$) suggests a trend for the young middle-class blacks to be more likely to help teachers and the working-class whites least likely to help them. The young, white hardcore are most likely to ask for help; the old, working-class blacks are least likely to do so. The hardcore blacks and younger hardcore whites are more likely to ask for help than the other samples.

Table 6

Stereotypes of Teachers

Independent Variables				Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.5	6.3	6.9	5.9	2.8	1.9	4.7	5.4
			35-45	5.3	5.2	7.4	6.3	3.2	1.2	2.9	6.2
		Male	18-25	5.4	5.9	6.8	7.5	1.8	1.6	3.6	5.6
			35-45	6.5	6.1	7.4	7.1	1.7	1.8	4.0	5.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.7	6.2	7.5	6.1	2.2	0.8	3.8	4.9
			35-45	6.7	6.1	7.4	6.7	3.1	1.5	3.2	5.6
		Male	18-25	5.3	5.2	7.0	5.9	3.3	2.1	3.8	5.0
			35-45	6.3	6.6	6.9	6.9	2.3	2.1	4.3	6.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.3	5.6	6.4	5.3	3.5	0.8	3.4	4.3
			35-45	6.0	6.0	6.2	5.8	3.6	4.0	3.7	5.4
		Male	18-25	5.4	5.3	6.0	5.3	3.4	1.9	4.0	5.2
			35-45	6.7	6.6	6.6	5.6	3.4	2.5	3.7	3.9
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.9	6.5	6.8	6.1	2.3	6.0	4.3	4.2
			35-45	7.0	6.5	7.3	6.5	1.2	3.0	2.1	4.0
		Male	18-25	5.2	7.0	7.1	6.3	3.2	1.9	4.1	5.4
			35-45	6.3	7.0	6.9	7.0	1.9	1.7	3.6	4.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.2	7.1	7.8	6.8	2.1	0.8	4.8	4.6
			35-45	6.9	6.9	7.5	6.6	2.1	1.2	4.1	5.2
		Male	18-25	5.3	5.6	6.2	4.9	3.2	2.4	3.7	4.9
			35-45	6.1	5.9	6.7	5.9	2.6	1.7	3.1	5.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.6	5.5	6.2	5.7	3.1	1.8	4.2	5.3
			35-45	5.8	5.7	5.7	5.6	4.0	1.8	4.1	3.7
		Male	18-25	5.6	5.8	6.1	5.3	3.7	2.4	4.7	4.9
			35-45	6.7	6.7	7.2	5.8	3.4	2.2	4.4	4.3

Table 6 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .03$) -- Univariate tests indicate that blacks tend to see teachers as less hardworking than whites do. Both univariate and multivariate tests confirm that blacks see teachers as more aggressive than whites do. Finally, multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to intelligence variable, blacks see teachers as more intelligent than whites do.

2. Main effect for socioeconomic class ($p < .001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that middle class see teachers as less intelligent than working class or hardcore do; also confirm that middle class see teachers as less active and more lazy than the working class who see teachers as less active and more lazy than the hardcore sees them.

Table 7

Behavioral Intentions toward Teachers

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.0	1.4	5.1	6.0	2.8	2.6	5.1
			35-45	6.1	2.7	5.8	6.8	2.7	2.2	3.7
		Male	18-25	4.2	2.7	5.0	6.3	2.5	1.7	4.5
			35-45	4.7	1.8	5.6	7.1	1.7	3.6	7.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.0	1.0	5.9	6.4	3.3	2.4	5.6
			35-45	6.4	1.7	5.6	6.4	3.0	2.8	4.1
		Male	18-25	5.3	2.4	4.8	6.3	3.7	4.7	3.9
			35-45	6.5	1.7	7.3	8.0	2.8	4.8	2.6
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.3	2.3	6.3	6.3	3.8	1.6	3.8
			35-45	6.6	3.3	5.7	6.1	4.2	3.7	3.3
		Male	18-25	6.5	3.6	6.6	7.0	3.6	2.4	5.7
			35-45	6.0	4.0	6.9	7.2	3.5	2.8	4.9
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.4	2.0	6.2	6.6	3.3	1.7	5.1
			35-45	4.8	1.2	6.5	7.1	2.5	2.5	3.5
		Male	18-25	3.9	2.0	4.2	5.9	3.0	3.6	5.7
			35-45	6.3	2.7	7.2	7.3	2.6	2.6	4.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.4	2.4	7.0	7.1	3.3	2.8	5.1
			35-45	5.5	2.2	6.0	6.7	3.9	3.1	3.7
		Male	18-25	5.8	2.2	5.4	5.7	3.8	3.7	3.8
			35-45	3.8	2.2	5.6	5.8	2.3	3.2	3.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.0	4.0	5.9	5.7	4.7	2.3	4.6
			35-45	6.4	3.7	5.3	6.0	3.4	2.2	4.2
		Male	18-25	5.2	4.2	5.7	5.7	4.7	2.8	4.6
			35-45	5.9	2.5	6.6	7.4	4.4	2.4	4.2

Table 7 (Continued)

1. Contrast for hardcore versus working class versus middle class ($p < .0001$) -- Multivariate and univariate tests show middle class subjects most likely to date and criticize teachers; hardcore the least likely. However, the working class is the most likely to stay away from teachers with the middle class the least likely to do so. Multivariate tests show that with variance unique to respect, the hardcore subject is most likely to respect a teacher, middle class the least likely.

2. Contrast for sex ($p < .0166$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show males as more likely to stay away from teachers.

3. Contrast for age ($p < .0017$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show the younger age group as most likely to ask a teacher for advice. Univariate tests indicate common variance between trust and respect, both related inversely to criticism. In this context, the younger group is less likely to trust and respect a teacher, more likely to criticize.

4. Contrast for sex of subject x age of subject ($p < .0697$) -- Multivariate and univariate tests show older males most likely to trust teachers with young females next most likely; young males least likely to trust teachers.

5. Contrast for race x socioeconomic status x age ($p < .0585$) -- Younger middle class blacks are most likely to help a teacher, hardcore younger whites and working class older whites are least likely to help according to univariate and multivariate tests. Hardcore of both age groups and races with the exception of older whites are least likely to help.

   Multivariate tests show variance unique to ask for help where white, young middle class members are most likely to ask for help, older working class blacks least likely. Hardcore blacks, older and younger and white younger middle class are most likely to ask for help.

Discussion of TEACHER. We have replicated, in the present study, the smaller social distance of the middle-class white girls obtained in the previous study, but we are now able to say that this difference is due to social class and sex rather than race. We are also finding that blacks seem to think of hard work in physical terms, so that they see teachers as less hardworking, but more intelligent. Finally, the hardcore seem generally more inclined to ask for help than the other samples.

BLACK FOREMAN

The white high school sample, of the previous study, avoided this stimulus; they also indicated less willingness to help ($p < .0005$) such a person. They saw the stimulus as less important.

In the present study we obtained a dependable race effect ($p < .0009$) which indicates that the blacks see this stimulus as less trustworthy than the whites; they also see BLACK FOREMEN as less lazy and more aggressive than do the whites. The hardworking scale has unique variance, although it also correlates with trustworthy. On this unique variance blacks see this stimulus as less hardworking than do the whites. In short, blacks are suggesting that a black foreman may not be trusted completely, works hard to promote his own ends (less lazy) and tries to get ahead (aggressive); he does less hard physical work than is appropriate. The suggestion is that such a person would not have the automatic confidence of blacks.

A class main effect ($p < .01$) shows the middle class sample thinking of BLACK FOREMEN as tougher than the other social classes. A sex main effect ($p < .04$) suggests that females see him as less lazy and more important than the males. There is also a suggestion ($p < .06$) that white males see this stimulus as much more lazy than the other sex-race groups.

Turning to the behavioral intentions, of Table 9, we note a highly dependable race effect ($p < .0001$) according to which blacks are more likely to go out with him and respect him, but less likely to trust him than do the whites. The hardcore are more likely to ask his advice than the middle class ($p < .004$), but they are also less likely to trust him; the middle class is most likely to criticize him and the hardcore are least likely to do so. Males are more likely to go out with BLACK FOREMEN and to respect them, but females are more likely to trust them ($p < .0001$). The young are more likely to go out with BLACK FOREMEN, and the older groups are more likely to stay away from them, but the latter are also more likely to trust them than the younger groups. Finally older males are most likely and older females least likely to go out with BLACK FOREMEN ($p < .03$).

Discussion of BLACK JOB FOREMAN. It appears, then, that the high school whites of the previous study were particularly hostile to this stimulus; the present study does not show a similar avoidance pattern. On the other hand, the negative image of a person making it within the system does appear in the present study.

Young black males are willing to engage in a number of positive behaviors (e.g., go out with), but indicate that they do not trust such persons.

BLACK PROFESSIONAL MEN.

The previous study uncovered no differences among the samples in their perception of this stimulus. The profile of this stimulus, for all groups, suggested a person who was not lazy, was important, intelligent, aggressive and had black pride. The MANOVA of the previous data showed no significant effects for the stereotype judgments and only two significant effects for the behavioral intentions: (1) the blacks saw themselves as more likely to help and go out with BLACK PROFESSIONALS than did the whites ($p < .02$), and

Table 8

Stereotypes of Black Job Foremen

Independent Variables				Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.3	6.1	6.6	5.9	2.6	2.9	4.5	7.3
			35-45	4.7	5.1	5.4	5.8	2.0	2.2	3.8	5.9
		Male	18-25	4.7	5.9	5.6	6.2	2.1	3.1	4.8	6.0
			35-45	6.0	7.0	6.5	6.4	1.9	2.2	4.5	6.1
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.2	6.2	5.2	5.2	2.8	2.8	4.7	4.9
			35-45	5.2	5.7	6.0	5.6	2.9	1.8	4.0	5.0
		Male	18-25	3.7	4.7	4.8	4.6	4.2	3.1	5.3	5.3
			35-45	5.7	6.8	6.8	5.8	2.3	4.0	4.0	6.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.9	5.8	5.8	6.0	2.7	1.7	5.8	5.5
			35-45	5.7	7.0	6.0	5.9	2.6	1.6	5.0	6.7
		Male	18-25	5.2	6.2	5.4	5.6	1.9	3.3	5.9	6.1
			35-45	5.0	6.3	5.9	5.7	3.0	3.2	5.7	5.9
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.2	6.4	5.8	5.8	2.4	1.3	5.6	5.4
			35-45	5.9	6.2	5.6	5.8	1.7	0.7	4.5	4.9
		Male	18-25	5.1	5.4	4.7	4.8	4.2	2.9	3.3	5.3
			35-45	5.4	5.6	5.7	6.8	3.1	2.2	4.8	6.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.9	7.6	7.0	6.8	1.8	0.9	5.4	5.1
			35-45	6.4	6.6	6.5	6.8	1.9	1.7	4.7	5.6
		Male	18-25	4.8	5.5	5.5	4.8	3.7	3.0	4.5	4.8
			35-45	5.7	6.2	6.0	5.6	3.3	2.2	4.7	5.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.5	5.7	5.5	4.9	2.7	1.3	5.3	5.3
			35-45	5.3	5.9	5.6	5.6	3.5	2.0	4.8	4.7
		Male	18-25	5.3	5.5	5.4	5.4	3.8	2.4	5.2	5.6
			35-45	6.5	6.8	6.8	6.4	2.6	1.8	6.1	6.4

Table 8 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0009$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that blacks see black job foremen as less trustworthy, less lazy and more aggressive than whites see them. Also, multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to hardworking, blacks see black job foremen as less hardworking than whites see them.

2. Main effect for class ($p < .01$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that the middle class see black job foremen as tougher than the working class or hardcore see them. Also multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to the "aggressive" variable, the working class sees black job foremen as more aggressive than the middle class or hardcore see them.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .04$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that females see black job foremen as less lazy and more important than males see them.

4. Race x sex interaction ($p < .06$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that white males see black job foremen as much more lazy than white females and black males and females see them. Also, multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to "aggressive" variable, white females see black job foremen as less aggressive than white males and much less aggressive than black males or females.

Table 9

Behavioral Intentions toward Black Job Foremen

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.4	2.0	5.7	5.2	3.2	3.3	3.4
			35-45	4.7	1.7	5.3	6.0	2.7	3.7	3.7
		Male	18-25	4.2	2.9	3.7	5.5	2.7	3.8	3.4
			35-45	4.4	2.2	3.4	4.8	2.9	4.6	5.5
	Working Class	Female	18-25	3.6	0.8	3.7	5.2	3.3	3.7	2.5
			35-45	4.0	1.2	4.5	5.1	3.2	4.0	2.2
		Male	18-25	4.2	3.9	4.5	5.8	4.1	3.9	3.2
			35-45	5.6	2.6	5.5	7.5	3.0	4.2	3.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.5	3.0	4.7	4.6	3.1	4.1	2.8
			35-45	5.0	1.7	6.0	6.5	3.1	4.1	2.9
		Male	18-25	6.3	5.0	5.8	7.0	3.9	2.1	4.6
			35-45	5.4	3.5	5.1	6.0	2.8	3.5	3.2
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.2	0.9	4.7	5.2	3.0	4.3	2.9
			35-45	2.5	0.0	5.8	5.8	3.3	4.3	3.3
		Male	18-25	3.5	3.0	3.3	4.7	3.0	3.4	2.9
			35-45	5.4	1.3	5.2	6.1	2.6	5.2	4.2
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.4	1.3	6.3	6.4	2.9	2.4	4.1
			35-45	4.8	1.0	6.3	5.9	3.9	4.3	4.2
		Male	18-25	5.5	2.2	5.1	5.6	4.1	3.0	3.5
			35-45	5.1	1.8	5.1	5.3	3.2	3.6	4.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.3	1.2	5.8	5.8	4.0	2.2	3.6
			35-45	4.4	0.9	5.3	5.3	3.4	4.2	2.7
		Male	18-25	4.4	2.7	5.1	4.8	4.6	3.2	2.7
			35-45	5.7	1.1	6.3	6.3	3.7	4.0	2.0

Table 9 (Continued)

constant variable

1. Contrast for race ($p < .0001$) -- Blacks are most likely to go out with black job foremen though whites are most likely to trust him according to univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests show blacks most likely to respect and whites most likely to criticize black job foremen.

2. Contrast for socioeconomic status ($p < .0037$) -- Multivariate tests show variance unique to "ask" indicate that persons in the hardcore are most likely and those in the middle class least likely to ask a black job foreman for advice. Univariate tests show middle class trust the most and hardcore trust the least; middle class criticize the most the hardcore the least. Trust appears to share variance with "help" and criticize shares variance with help also.

3. Contrast for sex ($p < .0001$) -- Males are more likely to go out with black job foremen, females are more likely to trust them according to both univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests show variance unique to respect with males showing more respect.

4. Contrast for age ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests both show that younger people are more likely than older people to go out with black job foremen while older people are more likely to stay away from black foremen. Multivariate tests show older people as more likely to trust black foremen.

5. Contrast for sex x age ($p < .0277$) -- Older male workers are most likely to help black foremen, followed by younger male workers. Older female workers are least likely to help according to both univariate and multivariate tests. Variance unique to "go out with" as shown by multivariate tests shows younger males as most likely to go out with black foremen followed by older males, with younger females the least likely to do so.

(2) the hardcore blacks were less likely to trust and ask for the advice of BLACK PROFESSIONALS than were the high school blacks ($p < .005$). A similar pattern emerged in the present study (Tables 10 and 11). However, in the present study we did obtain a larger number of differences:

1. A dependable race effect ($p < .0005$) indicates that blacks see BLACK PROFESSIONALS as more aggressive and hardworking than do the whites; the younger samples see them as tougher than the older samples ($p < .02$).

2. A race by sex interaction ($p < .01$) suggests that black males and white females see them as more trustworthy, hardworking, intelligent and active than do black females and white males. The above variables have much variance in common, and can be considered as an "evaluative" factor. White males, in addition, see them as more lazy than the other race-sex samples; black males see them as tougher than do the other samples. Finally, on variance specific to the aggressive scale, white females see them as lower than do the other samples.

3. A highly dependable race effect ($p < .0001$) shows that blacks are most likely to help, date and respect black professionals, but whites are more likely to trust them. Blacks are more likely to ask them for advice than are the whites. In short, blacks show tendencies to engage in overt positive actions, but whites indicate that they experience more positive affect, although they do not show willingness to engage in actions consistent with this affect, with respect to BLACK PROFESSIONALS. Consistent with previous work (Triandis, Vassiliou and Thomanek, 1966) only the black middle class is willing to go out with the stimulus; the other blacks stay away because they may feel socially inadequate; the whites do so because of interracial barriers.

Table 10

Stereotypes of Black Professionals

Independent Variables			Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female 18-25	6.0	6.8	6.9	6.5	2.5	2.1	4.5	6.4
		Female 35-45	5.7	6.4	7.2	6.0	2.6	2.0	3.0	6.6
		Male 18-25	5.9	7.2	6.5	7.3	1.8	1.2	6.1	6.8
		Male 35-45	5.9	6.1	7.6	6.7	1.7	2.0	5.9	7.1
	Working Class	Female 18-25	6.2	6.7	6.5	5.8	2.7	1.6	3.6	6.0
		Female 35-45	4.9	6.5	6.5	6.3	2.3	2.1	3.6	6.2
		Male 18-25	5.4	6.9	6.9	5.1	2.5	1.3	5.8	6.1
		Male 35-45	6.3	7.3	7.4	7.4	1.9	2.3	3.6	6.6
	Middle Class	Female 18-25	5.3	6.4	7.0	5.8	2.6	0.8	4.9	6.5
		Female 35-45	6.1	6.9	6.9	6.5	2.8	0.3	4.4	6.8
		Male 18-25	5.7	7.2	7.4	6.4	2.2	1.6	5.9	7.0
		Male 35-45	6.6	7.0	6.7	6.4	2.5	1.7	5.1	6.5
WHITES	Hardcore	Female 18-25	6.2	7.1	7.1	6.5	2.6	0.7	5.0	4.6
		Female 35-45	6.0	6.5	6.8	5.2	1.7	0.9	2.6	3.8
		Male 18-25	5.3	6.2	6.3	5.3	3.4	1.2	4.2	4.8
		Male 35-45	5.9	6.5	6.6	7.0	2.3	1.4	4.0	6.3
	Working Class	Female 18-25	7.3	7.6	7.8	7.2	1.9	0.8	4.8	5.0
		Female 35-45	6.4	7.1	7.4	6.7	2.4	1.0	4.6	6.2
		Male 18-25	5.2	6.1	6.4	5.6	3.0	2.7	4.7	5.4
		Male 35-45	6.1	6.5	6.9	5.7	2.5	1.9	3.9	5.7
	Middle Class	Female 18-25	6.2	6.8	7.7	6.8	2.4	1.0	5.4	6.0
		Female 35-45	6.3	6.2	6.4	5.9	2.8	1.7	4.5	4.8
		Male 18-25	5.6	6.0	6.4	6.1	3.3	2.2	4.7	6.0
		Male 35-45	6.8	7.0	7.3	6.2	3.0	2.5	4.6	4.8

Table 10 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0005$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that blacks see black professionals as more aggressive than whites see them. Also, multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to hardworking, blacks see black professionals as more hardworking than whites see them.

2. Main effect for age ($p < .02$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that younger people see black professionals as tougher than older people see them.

3. Race x sex interaction ($p < .006$) -- Univariate tests indicate that black males and white females see black professionals as more trustworthy, more hardworking, more intelligent and more active than black females and white males see them; however, the multivariate tests suggest that these effects are due to common variance in the variables. Both univariate and multivariate tests indicate that white males see black professionals as much more lazy than white females or black males and females, while black males see black professionals as tougher than black females or white males and females see them. Finally, the multivariate tests indicate that for variance specific to the "aggressive" variable, white females see black professionals as much less aggressive than black males or females while white males are intermediate.

Table 11

Behavioral Intentions towards Black Professionals

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.9	1.8	5.2	5.4	2.6	3.2	4.4
			35-45	4.4	3.5	6.1	6.9	2.8	3.1	4.2
		Male	18-25	5.8	3.8	4.3	6.4	1.9	2.3	3.4
			35-45	3.8	2.0	5.0	6.8	1.8	3.8	6.3
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.0	1.2	4.1	6.8	2.6	3.0	3.7
			35-45	4.9	2.7	5.2	6.7	3.0	2.8	3.8
		Male	18-25	5.4	2.9	3.9	6.8	2.8	4.4	3.6
			35-45	5.9	0.9	6.3	7.6	2.7	3.3	2.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.6	3.1	5.3	6.5	2.8	1.5	4.4
			35-45	6.5	5.1	6.4	7.0	2.9	2.1	4.9
		Male	18-25	5.8	4.8	6.3	6.8	3.4	2.1	5.3
			35-45	6.6	5.2	6.1	6.9	3.0	3.2	4.2
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.3	1.8	5.7	6.2	2.9	2.7	3.7
			35-45	3.8	0.2	5.3	6.8	2.6	3.4	3.2
		Male	18-25	3.2	3.2	3.5	4.6	2.8	3.5	2.9
			35-45	4.4	3.7	5.8	6.5	2.7	3.9	2.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.5	1.1	6.8	7.8	2.8	2.5	5.5
			35-45	4.9	1.8	5.7	6.8	2.6	2.9	3.0
		Male	18-25	4.8	2.3	5.6	4.9	3.2	2.6	3.3
			35-45	3.7	1.7	5.4	5.2	2.3	3.6	3.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.8	2.9	6.0	6.3	3.7	2.4	4.6
			35-45	5.3	1.5	5.7	6.5	2.6	2.7	3.3
		Male	18-25	4.0	2.7	5.5	5.8	4.3	2.3	3.7
			35-45	5.1	2.1	6.3	6.3	3.3	4.4	3.2

Table 11 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show blacks as more likely to help, date and respect black professionals. As shown by multivariate tests, variance unique to trust shows whites more likely to trust black professionals. Univariate tests indicate that blacks are more likely to ask for advice; this probably related to their helping black professionals.

2. Main effect for socioeconomic status ($p < .0006$) -- Both multivariate and univariate tests indicate the middle class is most likely to help and to date black professionals. In the case of helping, the hardcore is least likely to help; in the case of dating, the working class is least likely. Univariate tests indicate "trust" shares common variance with "help," and follows the same pattern as does criticism.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .0219$) -- Males are both more likely to date and more likely to stay away from black professionals according to both univariate and multivariate tests.

4. Main effect for age ($p < .0181$) -- Older subjects are more likely to trust black professionals as indicated by multivariate and univariate tests. Multivariate tests also indicated that older people are more likely to stay away from black professionals.

5. Interaction of race x socioeconomic status ($p < .0377$) -- Blacks of all social classes are more likely than whites of any class (as well as whites of their respective classes--except for black working class) to date black professionals according to univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests indicate blacks of each class more likely than their white counterparts to respect black professionals; each black class is more likely than any white class to do so.

6. Race x sex ($p < .0344$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show in regards to respect towards black professionals that the order is black males, white females, black females and finally white males. Multivariate tests indicate the black males are most likely to go out with the black professional, followed by black females, white males and white females.

4. The scales to help, trust and criticize have some variance in common. We find the middle class more willing to engage in all of these behaviors than the hardcore or working class.

5. Older samples are more likely to trust BLACK PROFESSIONALS ($p < .02$).

6. Middle-class blacks are particularly likely to date BLACK PROFESSIONALS. The most respect is shown by black males, followed by white females, black females and the least respect is shown by white males. Black males are more likely to go out with them than black females and white males more than white females.

Discussion of BLACK PROFESSIONALS. There is a clear replication of the previous results in which we found that blacks are more likely to help and go out with BLACK PROFESSIONALS. There is also some indication that blacks are less likely to trust them. There is some consistency with previous work, in which middle-class individuals were more likely to be friendly to middle-class stimuli than were lower-class individuals (Triandis, et al., 1966). There is a suggestion of greater "closeness" for the middle class--both white and black--to BLACK PROFESSIONALS, since they are more willing to trust, and help and also to criticize such persons.

A comparison of the reactions of the black hardcore samples to BLACK JOB FOREMAN and BLACK PROFESSIONAL shows that the two stimuli are seen very similarly, but that the latter is somewhat preferred.

WHITE JOB FOREMEN

The previous study showed the hardcore to be less positive ($p < .0002$) toward WHITE JOB FOREMEN than the high school blacks, on dimensions such as trustworthy, hardworking and intelligent. The white high school students were more positive than the black high school students ($p < .005$) on dimensions such as hardworking and lazy. The blacks showed little liking for the

stimulus, but they do not reject him when responding to scales measuring behavioral intentions. Specifically, blacks were less likely to help and criticize him ($p < .007$) but more likely to "go out with him" than are the whites of the previous samples.

In the present study the whites were more positive than the blacks ($p < .0001$) on dimensions such as trustworthy and hardworking; the working class were more positive than the hardcore who were more positive than the middle class; females were more positive than males and the old more than the young.

The positive evaluation of the stimulus by the working class is also reflected on the behavioral intentions to help and to ask for help; again the middle class is least likely to do this and the hardcore are intermediate between the working class and the middle class. Similarly, males have more positive intentions than females on the friendship cluster of intentions, and the old trust the stimulus more than the young. Some interactions are significant, e.g., old males are higher than young females on the help intention, with the young males least likely to help.

Discussion of WHITE FOREMEN. There is a clear pattern of preferences in both the previous study and the present one. Blacks evaluate the stimulus less highly than whites; hardcore less than working class; the young less than the old; males less than females. One might conclude that WHITE FOREMEN would be most effective with white, working-class, older females.

Direct comparisons of Tables 9 and 13 as well as 10 and 14 suggest that the images of BLACK and WHITE foremen are not very different. For example, most samples see them as trustworthy, and the young black males, who see them as untrustworthy, see both stimuli as having this quality (Note the mean scores of 3.1 for white and 3.7 for black). The behavioral intentions also show a

Table 13

Stereotypes of White Job Foremen

Independent Variables				Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.7	6.1	6.0	5.9	2.8	2.4	4.1	5.5
			35-45	3.6	4.8	5.3	4.9	2.6	2.0	3.5	6.1
		Male	18-25	4.2	5.5	6.0	6.1	1.3	2.6	4.0	5.7
			35-45	5.2	5.4	5.8	7.2	2.5	2.3	3.8	5.8
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.0	6.4	5.6	5.3	2.6	2.1	4.0	4.7
			35-45	4.7	5.2	5.2	6.3	2.7	1.7	3.6	5.4
		Male	18-25	3.1	3.9	4.0	4.3	4.8	3.0	3.6	4.8
			35-45	5.2	5.8	6.1	5.8	2.0	2.3	4.2	6.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.7	6.0	5.2	5.5	3.5	2.1	5.0	5.6
			35-45	5.1	5.6	5.2	5.0	3.3	2.3	5.7	6.4
		Male	18-25	4.5	4.6	4.4	4.5	3.0	3.0	4.8	5.2
			35-45	4.6	4.7	4.4	5.8	3.1	2.7	5.2	5.9
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.4	6.2	5.4	5.3	2.7	1.0	4.5	5.0
			35-45	6.6	6.5	5.3	5.9	1.5	0.5	4.4	5.0
		Male	18-25	5.2	5.1	5.3	4.7	4.6	2.7	3.8	4.8
			35-45	6.2	6.1	6.0	7.2	2.7	2.0	5.2	5.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.0	7.7	6.7	6.8	1.5	1.1	5.1	4.8
			35-45	6.3	6.5	6.6	7.1	1.9	2.6	4.7	6.0
		Male	18-25	4.9	5.7	5.5	5.0	3.6	2.6	5.0	5.3
			35-45	5.4	6.8	6.0	5.2	3.1	1.7	3.9	5.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.6	5.6	4.6	4.6	2.9	1.3	4.8	4.9
			35-45	5.3	5.4	5.0	5.2	3.8	2.2	4.6	5.1
		Male	18-25	5.2	5.3	5.1	5.0	3.9	2.6	5.6	6.1
			35-45	6.3	6.6	6.5	6.1	3.1	2.0	5.8	6.2

Table 13 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate tests indicate that blacks see white job foremen as less trustworthy, less hardworking and less tough than whites see them; however, multivariate tests indicate that effect is due to common variance in the three variables. Finally, multivariate tests indicate a tendency ($p < .06$) for blacks to see them as more aggressive than whites see them.

2. Main effect for class ($p < .001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that (a) the working class sees white job foremen as more intelligent than do the hardcore who see them as more intelligent than do the middle class; (b) the hardcore see white job foremen as more active and less lazy than do the working class who see them as more active and less lazy than do the middle class; and (c) the middle class sees white job foremen as tougher than the hardcore and working class see them.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .05$) -- Univariate tests indicate that females see white job foremen as more hardworking, less lazy and more important than males do; however, multivariate tests indicate that this is due to common variance among the three variables.

4. Main effect for age ($p < .02$) -- Univariate tests confirm that younger people see white job foremen as less active, more lazy, and less aggressive than older people see them; however, multivariate tests suggest that this is due to common variance among the three variables.

5. Race x sex interaction ($p < .03$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that white females see white job foremen as much less lazy than white males do while black males and females are intermediate.

6. Class x sex interaction ($p < .05$) -- Univariate tests suggest that hardcore males and females and working-class females see white job foremen as less lazy and more active than working class males and middle-class males and females; however, multivariate tests indicate that this is due to common variance.

Table 14

Behavioral Intentions Toward White Job Foremen

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.1	1.8	4.2	5.2	3.7	4.2	3.6
			35-45	3.9	1.2	4.2	5.4	3.1	4.0	3.8
		Male	18-25	3.9	2.5	3.4	5.3	4.0	3.1	3.5
			35-45	4.6	1.0	3.6	4.8	2.9	5.2	5.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	3.5	0.8	4.4	5.3	4.0	4.2	3.4
			35-45	4.9	0.9	4.5	5.1	4.1	3.3	3.1
		Male	18-25	3.3	1.8	2.5	4.0	4.1	5.1	2.9
			35-45	6.3	1.4	5.3	7.5	3.9	3.9	3.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	3.6	1.4	4.4	4.9	3.5	4.3	2.2
			35-45	3.1	1.0	3.0	3.9	3.1	5.1	1.4
		Male	18-25	3.1	1.9	3.2	4.4	4.2	3.6	2.8
			35-45	4.3	2.4	4.1	4.4	3.8	3.9	3.0
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.2	1.9	5.0	5.0	3.1	3.9	2.8
			35-45	4.1	1.2	5.9	5.9	3.5	3.8	3.3
		Male	18-25	4.2	2.7	3.6	5.1	3.8	4.1	2.9
			35-45	6.6	1.9	6.1	5.6	2.4	5.0	4.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.6	2.3	6.3	6.4	2.8	3.0	4.8
			35-45	5.8	1.1	6.6	5.8	4.0	3.4	5.2
		Male	18-25	5.4	2.4	4.8	5.3	4.6	3.1	3.7
			35-45	5.5	3.0	5.6	5.6	3.6	3.1	4.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.2	1.1	5.6	5.7	4.2	2.4	3.3
			35-45	4.1	.09	5.6	5.3	3.5	4.4	3.0
		Male	18-25	4.5	2.8	4.5	4.5	4.9	4.0	2.5
			35-45	6.1	2.6	6.7	6.6	3.5	4.1	2.7

Table 14 (Continued)

1. Contrast for race ($p < .0001$) -- Whites are more likely to help, trust and respect white foremen according to univariate and multivariate tests. Univariate tests show "go out with" as sharing common variance with "help."

2. Contrast for socio-economic status ($p < .0091$) -- Working class workers are most likely to help a white foreman; middle class are least likely to help; the same pattern prevails for asking for help according to both univariate and multivariate tests.

3. Contrast for sex ($p < .0012$) -- Males are more likely to go out with white foremen, though females are more likely to trust him as shown by both univariate and multivariate tests.

4. Contrast for age ($p < .0003$) -- Older workers, as seen in both univariate and multivariate tests, are more likely to trust white job foremen. Multivariate tests show younger workers as more likely to go out with white job foremen, though older workers are more likely to stay away and to ask advice from the white foreman.

5. Contrast for sex and age ($p < .0020$) -- Older males are most likely to help white job foremen, with younger females next most likely to help. Younger males are least likely to help as seen on both univariate and multivariate tests. Univariate tests show trust and respect share common variance with "help."

pattern of considerable similarity. One is tempted to conclude, from these results, that the role (foreman) controls more variance than the race (black-white). The basic suspicion that hardcore males and the young show toward this stimulus (see their behavioral intentions to trust) is found in both cases .

BLACK WOMEN

In the previous study blacks evaluated BLACK WOMEN higher than did whites. Specifically, the black high school saw them as more trustworthy and intelligent ($p < .05$) and all blacks were more likely to go out with her, respect and ask for her advice than were the whites ($p < .001$).

In the present study there is a replication of these effects, with blacks evaluating her more highly ($p < .0001$) and indicating that they are more likely to help, go out with, and respect her than do the whites ($p < .0000$). A race by status by age interaction ($p < .006$) shows that the young white middle class evaluate her more highly than the young black middle class, but the young white hardcore evaluate her much less highly than the young black hardcore.

On behavioral intentions we find the middle class more likely to help and trust her than the lower class while the hardcore are least likely to do this ($p < .002$). Females are more likely ($p < .001$) to ask her for advice than are males. The young are more likely to help and go out with her ($p < .0001$) and the old to stay away from her. She is most likely to get help and be trusted by black males, followed by black females, white females, and least likely to get help and be trusted by white males ($p < .002$). On the behavioral intention to go out with the order of likelihood is as follows: most likely, hardcore males; followed by: middle-class females, middle-class males, working-class males, working-class females and least likely: hardcore females. Tables 15 and 16 give the details.

Table 15

Stereotypes of Black Women

Independent Variables				Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.3	7.0	6.4	5.6	3.4	3.3	3.8	5.5
			35-45	4.7	5.5	5.0	5.3	1.9	1.7	3.3	5.8
		Male	18-25	4.4	6.3	5.7	5.7	3.2	1.5	4.8	5.6
			35-45	5.4	6.1	5.9	6.0	1.9	2.7	5.3	5.5
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.8	6.4	5.9	6.1	2.0	2.3	5.1	5.5
			35-45	4.8	6.3	5.5	5.6	2.9	2.5	3.0	5.4
		Male	18-25	4.6	6.3	6.5	5.6	3.0	2.2	4.6	5.5
			35-45	5.0	6.6	5.9	5.9	3.1	2.4	3.7	6.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.7	5.7	5.4	5.2	2.9	1.7	4.1	4.8
			35-45	5.7	5.9	5.9	5.9	3.5	2.1	4.7	6.4
		Male	18-25	5.1	6.1	5.4	5.4	2.3	1.8	5.2	5.8
			35-45	5.8	6.8	6.0	5.9	2.5	2.4	5.2	5.0
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.4	5.7	4.6	5.2	2.9	1.3	4.6	3.8
			35-45	5.2	5.3	4.9	4.8	3.5	0.9	2.7	3.4
		Male	18-25	3.6	3.9	4.0	4.6	3.3	2.4	4.1	4.2
			35-45	5.8	6.9	5.4	6.4	2.8	2.7	5.5	6.3
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.3	6.6	5.9	5.7	3.6	0.9	4.6	4.3
			35-45	5.0	4.8	4.4	5.2	3.9	1.2	4.0	3.7
		Male	18-25	4.6	4.8	4.5	4.7	3.8	2.5	3.6	3.9
			35-45	4.9	5.4	4.4	4.9	3.6	2.5	4.4	4.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.5	5.6	5.1	4.7	3.2	1.6	4.7	4.4
			35-45	5.1	5.4	5.0	4.7	3.6	1.8	4.7	4.5
		Male	18-25	5.7	6.0	5.6	5.5	3.9	2.4	4.9	5.1
			35-45	4.9	5.6	5.1	5.6	3.3	2.3	4.6	5.1

Table 15 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate F-tests confirm that blacks see black women as more hardworking, more intelligent, less lazy, and more aggressive than whites see them. There was also a significant univariate F for active, but multivariate tests indicated it was due to common variance with hardworking and intelligent. Finally, a significant multivariate F for unimportant indicated that within its unique variance, blacks saw black women as less important than whites did.

2. Race x sex interaction ($p < .05$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that white females see black women as more important than black females or black males or white males. In addition the multivariate tests indicate that for unique variance associated with aggressive, white females see black women as much less aggressive than white males who see black women as less aggressive than either female or male blacks do (black males = black females).

3. Sex x age interaction ($p < .06$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that young males see black women as much less trustworthy than young females or older males -- older females are intermediate; also, older males and younger females see black women as far more hardworking than do young males and older females. Finally, univariate tests indicate that older females see black women as much less tough than older males--young females and males are intermediate.

4. Race x socio-economic status x age ($p < .006$) -- Univariate tests indicate that young black hardcore see black women as more trustworthy and more hardworking than young white hardcore; this pattern is erased in the young working class and reversed for the young middle class. For older people black and white responses are identical but curvilinear with the working class the lowest on trustworthy and hardworking (multivariate tests indicate that this effect is due to common variance between hardworking and trustworthy) indicate that young black hardcore and older black working class see black women as tougher and less lazy than other groups.

Table 16

Behavioral Intentions Toward Black Women

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.3	4.2	4.8	5.1	2.9	2.4	4.8
			35-45	5.2	4.5	5.6	5.9	3.2	1.6	4.5
		Male	18-25	6.2	7.4	3.9	6.6	3.2	1.0	3.4
			35-45	5.2	6.2	5.7	6.9	2.0	1.9	3.8
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.6	6.2	4.8	5.7	2.9	2.0	3.9
			35-45	5.1	4.3	4.2	4.8	3.5	4.1	4.9
		Male	18-25	6.8	7.3	5.1	6.9	3.6	1.1	4.3
			35-45	6.3	5.8	5.4	8.0	4.2	1.6	2.7
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.6	7.0	5.4	5.9	3.5	1.2	4.9
			35-45	6.1	5.5	6.7	6.7	2.6	2.2	3.9
		Male	18-25	7.6	7.9	6.8	7.6	3.3	1.1	5.6
			35-45	6.7	5.9	6.1	6.3	3.4	2.6	3.2
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.7	3.2	5.3	5.2	3.4	2.9	2.8
			35-45	4.5	1.3	4.5	4.8	3.8	4.4	3.0
		Male	18-25	4.5	4.0	3.8	5.1	2.2	2.8	2.7
			35-45	4.7	2.7	4.4	5.5	3.7	4.2	3.5
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.2	2.0	5.9	6.2	3.1	3.0	3.5
			35-45	5.6	2.8	5.8	5.8	3.7	2.9	3.3
		Male	18-25	5.3	1.8	4.2	4.8	3.6	4.7	1.3
			35-45	3.8	0.8	3.9	3.8	3.7	4.8	1.6
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.9	4.9	5.5	5.7	4.1	2.2	4.4
			35-45	5.8	2.6	5.6	5.7	3.5	2.8	3.7
		Male	18-25	5.8	3.5	5.6	5.6	4.3	2.9	3.7
			35-45	5.0	0.4	6.1	5.9	3.4	4.3	1.9

Table 16 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0000$) -- Blacks are more likely to help, go out with and respect black women; whites are more likely to stay away from them as shown in univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "criticism" with whites most likely to criticize black women. Univariate tests indicate blacks are most likely to ask for advice with this item sharing variance with "go out with" and "respect."

2. Main effect for socio-economic status ($p < .0019$) -- Members of the middle class are most likely to help and trust black women, members of the hardcore are least likely. This is based on both univariate and multivariate tests.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .0009$) -- Females are more likely to ask for advice from black women according to both multivariate and univariate tests. Variance unique to respect, as shown in multivariate tests shows males more likely to respect black women.

4. Main effect for age ($p < .0001$) -- Younger people are more likely to help and go out with black women; older people are more likely to stay away from them. This is shown in both univariate and multivariate tests. Variance unique to "trust" as seen in multivariate tests finds older people more likely to trust black women.

5. Race x sex ($p < .0018$) -- Male blacks, followed by female blacks, white females and white males are likely to help a black woman. The same patterns exist for going out with and respect, according to univariate and multivariate tests.
   Univariate tests indicate that the responses to "trust" follow the same pattern and shares common variance with respect. Stay away responses are exactly the reverse and this appears to be inversely correlated with respect.

6. Socio-economic status x sex ($p < .0052$) -- Male members of the hardcore are most likely to go out with black women, followed by females of the middle class, males of the middle class, working-class males, working-class females and finally hardcore females. These results are obtained from both multivariate and univariate tests.

Comment on BLACK WOMEN. The most interesting findings concern the hardcore whites, who show the most unfavorable stereotypes (evaluations) and behavioral intentions (little trust and intention to help; the young men (only) are willing to go out with her.). The relatively high score on go out with for the young white males suggests an exploitative sexual meaning of this intention for this sample.

WHITE WOMEN

The previous study uncovered no differences in the responses of the samples to this stimulus.

The present study showed that blacks are likely to see white women as less trustworthy, less important and more aggressive, but also less lazy and more active than do whites ($p < .0001$). Whites compared with blacks are more likely to help, go out with, trust and respect white women ($p < .0000$); blacks likely to stay away from them. Young blacks see WHITE WOMEN as more aggressive than do older blacks ($p < .05$). The middle class show the most positive behavioral intentions ($p < .01$) on scales such as trust and go out with. Males are most likely to go out with the stimulus and females to ask for advice ($p < .0001$). The MANOVA shows that to trust and ask for advice share much common variance; the white females and white males are highest on this variable followed by black males and black females, in that order. On going out with, white males are most likely followed by white females ($p < .001$). Middle-class males are more likely than white females to trust WHITE WOMEN; the pattern is reversed for the other two social classes ($p < .01$).

Comment on WHITE WOMEN. Blacks have a relatively positive stereotype of white women, but indicate behavioral intentions involving considerable distance. In the middle class the relationship between the sexes seems less tense than in the other social classes.

A comparison of these results with the data obtained for BLACK WOMEN suggests that while the stereotypes of black and white women are very similar, for both black and white samples, the behavioral intentions show a good deal of preference for the ingroup, in both racial groups.

BLACK MEN

The previous study uncovered no differences between our samples in the stereotypes of BLACK MEN, but there were dependable ($p < .0001$) tendencies for the white high school to be less likely to act positively toward them than the black high school and for the latter to be less positive than the black hardcore.

In the present study we found that while blacks are likely to see BLACK MEN as more hardworking, intelligent, tough and aggressive than do whites, they also see them as less trustworthy; the hardcore and working-class females see them as more unimportant than do the corresponding white samples. In short, there is considerable distrust and disappointment expressed in the black ratings.

On behavioral intentions blacks are much more likely to go out with and ask for the advice of BLACK MEN ($p < .0000$) and whites are more likely to stay away from them. The middle class are more likely to help ($p < .002$), go out with and trust, and the hardcore are least likely to do so. The middle class is most likely to ask for advice; the hardcore least likely; the middle class is most and the hardcore is least likely to stay away and criticize BLACK MEN. Thus there is much evidence of greater distance between the hardcore and the stimulus.

The young are more likely to go out with, ask for advice and help BLACK MEN. The older samples indicate they are more likely to stay away but also to trust BLACK MEN ($p < .01$). Black females, black males, white females and

Table 17

Stereotypes of White Women

Independent Variables				Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.0	5.3	5.2	5.0	3.0	4.2	4.0	5.4
			35-45	5.0	5.4	5.1	5.5	3.9	2.7	3.1	6.6
		Male	18-25	5.2	4.9	4.7	5.2	3.5	3.0	2.9	4.5
			35-45	4.4	5.7	5.5	5.5	2.3	2.2	3.2	5.3
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.6	5.1	4.6	5.7	3.7	3.1	1.8	4.0
			35-45	4.6	5.2	5.3	5.4	3.1	1.5	3.0	5.8
		Male	18-25	4.9	4.5	5.4	5.6	3.3	2.7	3.3	5.6
			35-45	4.9	6.2	6.2	6.6	2.3	1.7	2.9	6.7
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.7	4.5	4.5	5.2	3.1	1.7	3.4	5.1
			35-45	4.5	4.9	5.0	5.1	3.1	2.2	3.3	5.9
		Male	18-25	4.2	5.0	5.3	5.6	2.8	2.5	2.5	4.3
			35-45	5.5	5.7	5.5	5.9	3.3	2.6	3.5	5.1
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.7	5.3	5.0	4.7	4.0	1.4	3.3	4.6
			35-45	5.5	5.1	4.7	4.3	2.7	0.7	2.6	3.2
		Male	18-25	5.1	5.3	5.4	5.4	3.9	2.1	3.6	5.2
			35-45	4.9	6.0	5.6	6.3	3.6	2.0	4.4	4.4
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.0	6.2	5.7	6.0	3.1	1.1	3.8	4.4
			35-45	5.2	5.8	5.1	5.8	3.8	1.4	2.8	4.2
		Male	18-25	5.1	4.9	4.8	5.4	3.9	1.9	4.1	5.0
			35-45	5.6	5.2	5.7	5.7	3.9	2.4	2.9	4.4
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.6	5.6	5.4	4.9	3.9	1.0	4.0	4.1
			35-45	4.9	4.7	4.7	4.2	4.0	1.7	3.7	3.9
		Male	18-25	5.5	5.2	5.6	5.2	4.3	2.9	2.7	4.6
			35-45	5.6	5.4	5.6	5.5	3.9	2.4	3.8	4.3

Table 17 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate tests indicate that blacks see white women as less trustworthy, less lazy, less important, and more aggressive than whites do, while the multivariate tests indicate that the effects are due to specific variance. Also, the multivariate tests indicate that for the variance specific to the active variable, blacks see white women as more active than whites see them.

2. Race x age interaction ($p < .05$) -- Univariate and multivariate F-tests indicate that young blacks see white women as more aggressive than older blacks while young whites see white women as less aggressive than older whites.

Table 18

Behavioral Intentions Toward White Women

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	3.7	1.6	3.3	3.9	4.4	3.7	2.2
			35-45	3.8	2.0	3.8	5.0	2.8	3.7	2.8
		Male	18-25	4.9	4.0	2.8	4.7	3.0	3.9	3.0
			35-45	4.0	2.6	3.7	5.7	2.5	4.0	3.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	3.8	2.0	3.5	5.4	4.0	3.1	1.5
			35-45	4.6	2.3	4.5	5.4	4.1	4.3	2.8
		Male	18-25	3.9	2.2	2.7	4.1	4.0	5.1	2.4
			35-45	4.8	2.4	5.3	7.0	2.8	3.9	2.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.3	3.1	3.5	4.4	3.8	3.6	2.6
			35-45	4.0	3.3	3.0	4.4	3.8	3.6	2.3
		Male	18-25	4.7	3.3	4.7	5.8	3.7	3.8	2.2
			35-45	4.9	3.7	5.0	5.9	3.5	4.3	2.3
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.7	5.4	5.7	5.9	3.6	2.4	3.6
			35-45	5.0	3.8	4.6	5.2	4.1	2.2	2.9
		Male	18-25	4.5	5.9	4.6	5.5	2.8	2.9	1.9
			35-45	6.6	6.2	4.4	5.9	2.8	2.5	3.3
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.7	2.9	6.2	6.3	3.4	2.3	6.2
			35-45	5.9	4.2	5.3	5.6	4.6	3.0	3.1
		Male	18-25	6.5	7.3	4.3	5.4	4.3	2.3	2.4
			35-45	5.3	6.9	5.5	5.9	3.7	1.6	2.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.3	6.6	6.0	6.0	3.8	2.2	5.1
			35-45	5.7	6.6	6.1	6.0	3.7	1.4	4.1
		Male	18-25	6.3	7.2	6.0	5.9	4.5	1.5	4.8
			35-45	6.4	6.1	6.2	6.4	4.6	1.7	3.7

Table 18 (Continued)

1. Contrast for blacks vs whites ($p < .0000$) -- Whites are more likely to help, go out with, trust and respect white women; blacks are more likely to stay away, according to univariate and multivariate tests. Univariate tests indicate asking for advice shares common variance with helping and dating.

2. Contrast for socio-economic status ($p < .0090$) -- Middle-class persons are most likely to go out with and trust white women; working class are least likely to go out with and hardcore are least likely to trust them, according to univariate and multivariate tests.

3. Contrast for sex ($p < .0001$) -- Males are most likely to go out with white females as shown in univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "ask for advice" with females more likely to ask white women for advice.

4. Contrast for race x sex ($p < .0097$) -- As indicated by both univariate and multivariate analyses, the patterns for "trust" and "ask for advice" are the same; female whites are most likely to do these, followed by white males, black males and black females. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "going out with" following the same pattern except that white males are most likely to go out with white women and white females are second most likely.

5. Contrast for socio-economic status x sex ($p < .0115$) -- Middle-class males are most likely to trust white women, more so that middle-class females. However, in the other two classes, females are more likely to trust white women. This is shown in both univariate and multivariate tests. Variance unique to "go out with" shows middle-class males most likely to go out with white women, and males in the working class and hardcore classes next most likely. Working-class females are the least likely according to multivariate tests.

white males, in that order, are likely to go out with BLACK MEN ($p < .001$). Middle-class males, middle-class females, working-class males, working-class females, hardcore females and hardcore males, in that order, are likely to trust BLACK MEN ($p < .01$). The older hardcore are most likely to stay away ($p < .05$) from BLACK MEN.

Discussion of BLACK MEN. The present study uncovered considerable evidence of distrust and disappointment among the black samples. There is much racial prejudice among whites, the hardcore and the older samples. The middle class is most willing to "get involved" in interactions with BLACK MEN.

WHITE MEN

The previous study showed that hardcore blacks see the stimulus as less intelligent and active than do other samples ($p < .02$) and they are less likely to respect WHITE MEN than are other blacks ($p < .01$). Blacks in general are less likely to help, trust, and respect and more likely to stay away from WHITE MEN ($p < .02$). Black high school students are more likely than white students to criticize and less likely to trust WHITE MEN ($p < .05$).

In the present study we found that blacks are less likely to evaluate the stimulus positively (on scales such as trustworthy, intelligent, active) and more likely to see it as aggressive; finally, they see it as less important than do whites. Consistently, whites are more likely to behave positively ($p < .0000$) toward the stimulus than are blacks. Blacks are likely to avoid helping, and they are less likely to ask for help than are whites. Again the middle class is more positive in behavior toward the stimulus than are the hardcore samples ($p < .0001$). Older people are more likely to trust ($p < .04$) than are the young. On the intention to help, the rank order is as follows: most likely: older males, followed by young females, older females, younger males ($p < .002$). The older, white middle class are most likely to trust WHITE MEN ($p < .02$) while the older, black hardcore are least likely.

Table 19

Stereotypes of Black Men

Independent Variables				Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.7	6.3	5.8	5.7	2.4	3.2	4.4	5.9
			35-45	4.7	5.6	5.0	5.2	2.1	1.6	3.7	5.2
		Male	18-25	4.6	6.4	5.7	6.0	2.5	2.4	5.6	5.8
			35-45	4.7	5.8	5.4	5.6	2.3	2.7	5.1	5.8
	Working Class	Female	18-25	3.5	5.6	4.9	6.0	2.4	1.7	5.8	5.0
			35-45	4.3	6.1	5.1	4.7	3.3	2.6	4.7	4.7
		Male	18-25	4.8	5.3	5.1	5.6	3.1	1.5	6.0	5.3
			35-45	4.8	5.7	6.2	6.0	2.4	2.3	4.4	5.7
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.2	5.2	5.4	4.4	2.9	1.5	5.6	5.0
			35-45	5.1	5.9	5.5	5.9	3.4	2.0	4.8	5.7
		Male	18-25	4.8	5.0	4.8	5.0	3.1	2.9	6.4	5.1
			35-45	4.8	5.6	5.2	4.8	3.4	2.6	5.9	5.8
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.4	5.5	4.5	5.2	3.7	1.5	5.5	5.5
			35-45	5.0	4.5	4.3	4.5	3.4	1.0	2.9	3.3
		Male	18-25	4.4	4.0	4.3	4.5	3.6	2.4	3.7	4.2
			35-45	5.2	5.6	4.8	5.9	3.6	2.2	5.3	5.5
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.7	6.0	6.2	5.9	3.0	1.2	4.9	4.5
			35-45	5.1	4.9	4.6	4.8	3.2	1.0	3.7	4.5
		Male	18-25	4.5	4.3	4.1	4.0	4.2	2.8	4.2	4.1
			35-45	5.1	5.2	4.4	4.9	4.0	2.1	4.7	4.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.5	5.2	4.9	5.0	3.7	1.4	4.7	4.4
			35-45	5.2	4.7	4.8	4.9	3.7	1.8	4.1	4.2
		Male	18-25	5.6	5.6	5.4	5.3	4.1	2.3	4.6	4.8
			35-45	5.1	5.0	5.0	4.9	3.8	2.5	4.2	4.3

Table 19 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that blacks see black men as less trustworthy, more hardworking, more intelligent, less lazy, less important, more tough and more aggressive than whites see them

Table 20

Behavioral Intentions Towards Black Men

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.6	5.3	4.9	5.2	3.5	1.6	4.0
			35-45	4.0	6.1	5.6	5.9	3.0	2.6	4.5
		Male	18-25	5.7	4.1	3.6	6.0	3.6	2.7	3.7
			35-45	4.5	4.8	4.8	5.0	2.6	2.8	5.2
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.3	5.4	4.0	5.2	3.8	2.4	3.5
			35-45	4.1	4.6	5.1	5.3	3.3	2.3	3.1
		Male	18-25	5.1	5.8	3.9	5.0	2.7	3.4	4.2
			35-45	6.1	6.2	4.9	6.7	3.3	1.7	3.6
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.6	7.0	5.6	6.0	3.7	0.8	5.1
			35-45	5.6	7.0	5.3	6.4	3.4	1.7	3.9
		Male	18-25	7.6	7.7	7.0	6.9	3.6	1.5	5.9
			35-45	6.1	5.7	5.6	6.0	3.4	2.8	3.7
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.0	2.4	4.4	4.8	3.3	4.1	2.3
			35-45	3.6	0.0	4.5	4.5	3.6	5.9	1.6
		Male	18-25	3.6	3.5	3.2	5.0	3.7	3.8	3.1
			35-45	5.3	2.2	3.9	5.4	3.4	4.7	2.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.7	0.7	5.6	6.0	2.8	4.7	4.1
			35-45	4.7	2.0	5.1	6.1	3.6	5.2	2.9
		Male	18-25	5.6	2.9	5.4	5.1	4.8	4.2	2.3
			35-45	5.0	2.5	4.9	4.8	4.0	3.9	2.6
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.7	3.5	5.5	5.7	4.2	2.7	4.7
			35-45	4.7	1.1	5.4	5.6	3.5	4.1	3.2
		Male	18-25	5.1	4.1	5.5	5.5	4.2	3.4	3.8
			35-45	5.7	1.5	5.9	5.7	4.0	4.3	2.3

Table 20 (Continued)

☐ = Constant variable

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0000$) -- Multivariate and univariate tests show blacks are more likely to go out with and ask for advice from black men; whites are more likely to stay away. Variance unique to trust and respect shows blacks as more likely to exhibit both characteristics towards black men.

2. Main effect for socio-economic status ($p < .0017$) -- Middle-class members are most likely to help, go out with and trust black men; hardcore members are least likely to do these things according to both univariate and multivariate tests. Middle-class members are most likely to ask for advice and working class least likely; middle class are least likely to stay away from and hardcore most likely to stay away from blacks according to univariate tests. These items appear to share common variance with "criticize."

3. Main effect for age ($p < .0018$) -- Multivariate and univariate tests show younger people as more likely to go out with black men; older people as more likely to stay away from black men. Variance unique to trust shows older people more likely to trust black men. Univariate tests indicate younger people as more likely to ask for advice; this appears to share common variance with "help."

4. Race x sex ($p < .0004$) -- Black females are most likely to go out with black men; black males are second most likely and white females are least likely as seen in univariate and multivariate tests. Variance unique to "stay away" from multivariate tests shows white females as most likely to stay away from black men, followed by white males, black males with black females least likely to stay away.

5. Socioeconomic status x sex ($p < .0101$) -- Multivariate and univariate tests show middle-class males as most likely to trust black men; followed by middle-class females; working-class males, working-class females, hardcore females and hardcore males.

6. Socioeconomic status x age ($p < .0452$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show older hardcore people as most likely to stay away from black men; younger working class, older working class, older middle class, younger hardcore and younger middle class being the remaining order. Younger middle class are most likely to ask for advice, followed in likelihood by younger working class, older hardcore, younger hardcore and older middle class, and least likely by older working class.

Comment on WHITE MEN. The previous study showed considerable anti-white feelings among blacks and negative behavioral intentions toward WHITE MEN. These results were replicated in the present study, which also found that the hardcore and the young are less likely to have positive attitudes toward the stimulus.

Comment on Black and White Sex Roles

Table 23 shows the means obtained from our samples on the trust scale. It can be seen that black men show the most variance, with a range from 3.7 (for the stimulus white men) to 5.5 (for black women). Black women also show much variance, but not as much as the males. The least variance is shown by the whites. The whites tend to trust their own sex a little more than the other sex. The black women show no difference, but the black men tend to trust the opposite sex more than they do their own. This kind of within sex competition may be unique to the ghetto, where scarce resources cause unusual problems of lack of trust, and the black mother is one of the few trustworthy people. The blacks in our samples expressed more prejudice than the whites (remember that 4.5 is the middle of the scale).

The Outgroup--People Who Use Violence

WHITE POLICEMEN

The previous study showed that blacks tend to see WHITE POLICEMEN as more stupid and less aggressive than do whites, although the differences did not reach significance. (Since aggressive is positively evaluated by blacks, this implies a negative evaluation.)

In the present study blacks show a dependable ($p < .0002$) tendency to evaluate WHITE POLICEMEN less favorably (on hardworking, trustworthy and intelligent). Females are more positive than males ($p < .01$) and the old are more positive than the young ($p < .0003$). The hardcore young males tend to be very negative while the working-class females are quite positive toward this stimulus ($p < .002$).

Table 21

Stereotypes of White Men

Independent Variables				Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.6	5.4	5.1	5.8	3.0	3.0	5.4	6.4
			35-45	3.2	4.4	4.0	5.7	3.2	1.5	3.2	6.6
		Male	18-25	3.2	6.4	6.2	6.2	2.7	2.8	4.7	6.1
			35-45	5.0	5.1	5.8	5.5	3.1	2.8	3.8	5.5
	Working Class	Female	18-25	2.9	5.3	4.6	4.6	3.3	3.1	4.2	5.7
			35-45	4.5	5.9	4.9	5.4	3.0	3.2	3.2	5.2
		Male	18-25	2.8	3.8	4.5	5.1	4.5	2.5	3.8	5.9
			35-45	4.4	5.7	5.9	6.2	2.6	1.8	3.9	6.1
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.5	5.3	4.4	4.8	3.7	2.4	4.7	5.4
			35-45	4.1	4.7	5.5	5.2	3.8	2.7	4.6	6.4
		Male	18-25	4.0	5.1	4.9	5.0	2.8	2.4	3.6	5.7
			35-45	4.1	5.2	4.9	5.1	3.0	2.9	4.5	5.6
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.8	5.6	5.0	4.8	3.3	1.1	4.2	4.4
			35-45	5.0	4.8	4.7	4.9	3.2	1.0	3.1	3.7
		Male	18-25	4.0	4.4	4.3	4.4	3.3	2.1	3.9	4.4
			35-45	6.3	6.0	5.9	6.2	2.9	1.3	5.0	5.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.7	7.0	6.7	6.5	3.4	1.2	5.1	4.3
			35-45	5.0	5.5	4.7	5.2	3.1	1.1	3.4	4.6
		Male	18-25	4.8	4.5	4.5	4.6	3.3	2.2	4.5	4.4
			35-45	5.0	4.9	4.8	5.1	3.8	2.0	4.2	5.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.3	5.4	5.0	5.3	3.8	1.6	4.6	5.0
			35-45	5.3	5.6	5.1	5.3	3.9	1.8	4.0	4.5
		Male	18-25	5.6	5.3	5.3	5.4	4.3	2.4	4.6	5.1
			35-45	5.4	5.3	5.3	4.9	3.9	2.5	4.1	4.3

Table 21 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0000$) -- Univariate tests show blacks see white men as less trustworthy than whites do; however, multivariate tests indicate that blacks see white men as also less hardworking, less intelligent, and less active than whites do (variance is specific to these variables). Finally, both univariate and multivariate F-tests indicate that blacks see white men as less important and more aggressive than whites do.

2. Sex x age interaction ($p < .06$) -- Univariate tests indicate that young females see white men as more trustworthy, hardworking, and tough than old females, white young males see white men as less trustworthy, hardworking and tough than do older males. However, the multivariate tests indicate this effect is due to variance that is common to the three variables.

3. Race x class x age interaction ($p < .05$) -- Univariate differences in trustworthy, hardworking, intelligent, active and tough, but multivariate tests indicate that effect is due to common variance.

Table 22

Behavioral Intentions Towards White Men

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.0	1.3	2.9	4.5	2.7	3.9	3.4
			35-45	3.0	1.0	4.0	4.5	3.0	6.0	3.4
		Male	18-25	3.1	1.9	3.0	4.3	4.1	4.1	2.9
			35-45	3.2	1.7	2.8	4.2	3.0	4.2	4.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	3.1	6.0	4.1	4.3	3.1	3.8	3.0
			35-45	3.5	2.0	4.2	5.5	3.3	4.4	3.5
		Male	18-25	3.2	2.0	2.6	3.5	4.3	5.1	3.0
			35-45	5.6	2.5	5.2	6.4	3.9	2.8	2.5
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	3.7	1.9	4.4	4.3	4.2	4.4	2.6
			35-45	4.3	1.1	2.9	4.0	4.7	3.9	2.1
		Male	18-25	4.5	4.2	4.3	5.1	5.1	3.0	3.5
			35-45	4.7	4.3	4.4	4.5	4.0	4.0	2.6
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.4	5.4	5.6	5.9	3.4	2.0	4.5
			35-45	4.1	2.6	5.3	5.1	3.6	3.9	2.9
		Male	18-25	4.0	3.9	3.4	5.5	3.2	3.0	4.0
			35-45	6.5	4.9	5.8	5.6	3.0	4.2	3.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.4	7.4	5.6	6.0	2.9	3.2	5.0
			35-45	5.3	4.2	5.5	6.4	3.4	3.9	3.7
		Male	18-25	5.6	5.3	5.6	5.1	4.9	2.7	3.8
			35-45	5.3	4.6	5.3	5.2	3.2	1.9	4.5
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.2	6.4	5.5	5.8	4.2	2.4	4.8
			35-45	5.9	6.0	5.6	5.6	4.0	2.5	4.1
		Male	18-25	5.4	5.7	5.1	5.1	4.5	2.7	4.1
			35-45	6.8	6.9	6.6	6.3	4.1	2.5	4.5

Table 22 (Continued)

1. Contrast for race ($p < .0000$) -- Whites are more likely to help, go out with and trust white men according to both univariate and multivariate tests.

2. Contrast for socioeconomic status ($p < .0001$) -- Middle-class members are most likely to help, go out with and criticize white men; hardcore members are least likely to do these things according to both univariate and multivariate tests. Univariate tests show "trust" shares common variance with "help".

3. Contrast for age ($p < .0378$) -- Older people are more likely to trust white men based on both univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests indicate variance unique to "stay away" with older people more likely to stay away from white men.

4. Contrast for sex x age ($p < .0021$) -- Multivariate and univariate tests show older males most likely to help white men, with younger females next most likely, and younger males least likely; younger males are most likely to criticize white men; with older females next most likely and younger females least likely to do so. Univariate tests show "go out with" sharing variance with "help" and "trust" sharing variance with "respect."

5. Race x socioeconomic status x sex x age ($p < .0213$) -- Based on both univariate and multivariate tests, older, white, middle-class males are most likely to trust a white man. Older, black hardcore males are least likely to trust a white man. Among blacks and whites of both age groups and sexes, the hardcore are the least likely to trust a white man.

Table 23

The Perception of Trust Toward

Black and White Men and Women

Obtained from Samples of		Trust Toward: White		Trust Toward: Black	
		Men	Women	Men	Women
Black	Women	3.7	3.6	5.1	5.2
	Men	3.7	4.0	5.0	5.5
White	Women	5.5	5.6	5.1	5.4
	Men	5.3	5.2	4.8	4.7
Previous Study					
Black	Hardcore males	5.3	5.9	5.7	7.3
	High School Males	3.9	6.5	4.5	8.1
White	High School Males	5.3	6.7	5.3	7.2
	College Females	6.6	7.9	5.7	8.0

The behavioral intentions of the previous samples showed a smaller inclination of the blacks to help, trust and respect WHITE POLICEMEN. A comparison of the black and white high school students showed not only these trends but also a lesser inclination to ask for the opinions and a greater inclination to criticize the white policeman among the black students ($p < .006$).

In the present study, also, there was a dependable ($p < .0001$) trend for the blacks to show smaller inclinations to help, trust, and respect white policemen. The working class had the most positive attitude: females were more positive than males and the old more positive than the young. A significant interaction ($p < .03$) suggested that old females were most and young males least positive toward WHITE POLICEMEN.

Comment on WHITE POLICEMEN. There is considerable consistency across samples, comparing the previous and the present study, and across stereotypes and behavioral intentions: the black, males who are young, particularly if they belong to a class other than the working class, are most negative toward this stimulus.

BLACK POLICEMEN

The previous study uncovered no significant differences in the stereotypes of the four samples, and a slight trend ($p < .05$) for the blacks to be less inclined to help and to respect BLACK POLICEMEN than were the whites.

The present study obtained a dependable race effect--black less positive than whites toward BLACK POLICEMEN. The black working-class and middle-class females were more positive than the males. The blacks are more likely to date, but less likely than the whites to trust BLACK POLICEMEN. The middle class is most likely to help, the hardcore least likely to do so, with the working class in between. The most hostile are the young hardcore males.

Table 24

Stereotypes of White Policemen

Independent Variables			Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female 18-25	5.3	5.5	5.9	5.7	3.7	2.4	5.5	5.2
		Female 35-45	5.2	5.9	6.6	6.1	1.9	2.4	5.5	6.4
		Male 18-25	3.3	5.6	4.6	5.7	2.6	1.1	6.4	6.7
		Male 35-45	5.5	5.7	6.4	6.1	2.1	1.4	6.4	7.4
	Working Class	Female 18-25	5.1	6.0	5.8	6.7	1.9	1.9	5.7	4.9
		Female 35-45	4.8	5.5	6.1	5.7	3.3	0.9	5.4	6.1
		Male 18-25	3.4	4.1	4.9	3.9	4.7	3.8	4.7	5.4
		Male 35-45	4.4	5.5	5.6	6.7	3.1	0.9	4.9	5.7
	Middle Class	Female 18-25	5.1	5.7	6.1	5.7	3.3	0.6	6.0	5.9
		Female 35-45	5.0	5.5	5.3	6.0	3.2	1.4	6.5	6.7
		Male 18-25	4.2	4.8	4.4	4.5	3.8	4.9	5.7	5.7
		Male 35-45	4.8	5.4	5.2	5.9	3.2	2.1	5.5	6.3
WHITES	Hardcore	Female 18-25	5.3	6.4	5.5	5.2	3.1	1.9	6.0	5.0
		Female 35-45	7.6	8.2	7.1	8.1	0.8	0.1	5.2	6.3
		Male 18-25	4.5	6.1	5.8	6.1	3.1	2.5	6.9	5.8
		Male 35-45	6.5	5.9	6.2	5.7	3.5	0.6	5.2	5.9
	Working Class	Female 18-25	7.1	7.1	6.5	7.1	2.3	1.1	6.2	4.7
		Female 35-45	7.0	6.6	6.2	6.2	2.8	0.8	6.0	6.1
		Male 18-25	5.9	5.9	5.6	5.5	3.4	2.2	6.0	6.2
		Male 35-45	6.3	5.7	5.8	5.9	2.8	1.4	5.0	5.5
	Middle Class	Female 18-25	5.2	6.0	5.0	5.5	2.9	1.8	6.6	6.7
		Female 35-45	5.9	5.7	5.5	5.6	3.0	1.4	5.2	4.7
		Male 18-25	4.3	6.0	4.6	5.6	4.0	2.9	6.2	7.5
		Male 35-45	6.8	6.2	6.0	5.7	3.0	1.5	5.9	6.2

Table 24 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0002$) -- Blacks see white policemen as less hardworking and less trustworthy than the whites do (evaluation). After common variance is removed, the blacks see white policemen as less intelligent than the whites do.

2. Main effect for sex ($p < .015$) -- Univariate tests show that females see white policemen as more intelligent, more trustworthy, more hardworking, more active, more important and less lazy than males do; however, the multivariate tests indicate that these effects are due to common variance in the six variables. Finally, variance unique to "aggressive" variable shows females see white policemen as less aggressive.

3. Main effect for age ($p < .0003$) -- Univariate tests indicate that older people see white policemen as more trustworthy, more intelligent, more active, and less lazy than young people do; however, multivariate test indicates these effects are due to common variance. Secondly, both univariate and multivariate tests indicate that older people see white policemen as more important than young people do. Finally, multivariate F-tests indicate that for variance unique to "aggressive" variable, older people see the white policemen as less aggressive.

4. Class x Sex x Age interaction ($p < .002$) -- Significant univariate on active and lazy; significant multivariate on hardworking, active, and lazy.

Table 25

Behavioral Intentions Toward White Policemen

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	3.8	2.0	3.9	5.4	3.6	4.6	3.1
			35-45	3.8	0.9	5.1	6.5	3.1	6.3	2.6
		Male	18-25	3.4	0.5	2.7	3.8	5.3	5.6	2.3
			35-45	3.1	0.6	4.3	6.8	2.5	4.5	5.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	2.9	0.0	5.4	6.5	2.7	3.6	1.5
			35-45	4.8	1.2	4.6	5.5	3.7	5.6	2.6
		Male	18-25	3.1	1.9	2.9	3.7	5.4	6.2	3.0
			35-45	4.9	0.4	5.3	6.9	2.9	6.0	2.5
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.1	0.9	5.0	5.0	3.4	3.5	1.8
			35-45	4.5	0.0	4.1	4.1	4.7	4.3	2.5
		Male	18-25	2.2	0.8	2.9	3.8	5.0	6.6	1.5
			35-45	2.9	0.9	3.0	4.2	4.4	5.8	2.0
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.3	0.4	5.3	5.7	3.5	4.5	3.3
			35-45	4.6	0.2	7.2	7.6	2.5	2.9	4.6
		Male	18-25	2.4	0.7	2.5	4.5	4.0	7.4	2.1
			35-45	5.8	2.0	5.6	6.3	3.2	5.0	3.5
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.9	1.7	7.0	7.2	1.9	3.4	4.4
			35-45	5.3	2.0	7.0	7.8	3.0	2.1	4.9
		Male	18-25	5.1	2.5	5.9	5.5	4.4	4.8	3.7
			35-45	4.9	2.4	6.3	6.6	2.6	2.4	3.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	3.6	1.4	5.6	5.6	4.9	3.8	2.8
			35-45	5.3	0.8	6.5	6.6	3.3	2.9	4.8
		Male	18-25	2.0	1.1	3.3	3.1	6.0	5.6	2.0
			35-45	5.4	1.2	6.7	6.3	3.5	4.0	2.8

Table 25 (Continued)

☐ Constant variable

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Whites are more likely to help, go out with, and trust white policemen as shown in both univariate and multivariate tests. Univariate tests show whites more likely to respect and ask for advice; blacks more likely to stay away. These appear to share their common variance with "trust."

2. Main effect for socioeconomic status ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that members of the working class are most likely to go out with white policemen; members of the middle class are least likely; working-class members are also most likely to ask for advice and respect white policemen; white middle class members are least likely to do either. Univariate tests indicate "trust" shares variance with "going out with" and "criticism" shares common variance with "respect."

3. Sex ($p < .0002$) -- Females show more trust for white policemen; males stay away more according to both multivariate and univariate tests. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "go out with" with males more likely to do so. Univariate tests show respect and criticize share common variance with "trust."

4. Main effect for age ($p < .0013$) -- Both multivariate and univariate tests show that older people are more likely to help, trust, and respect white policemen. Univariate tests show older people more likely to ask a white policemen for advice--this appears to share variance with "help". Younger people are more likely to criticize--inversely related to respect.

5. Sex x age ($p < .0311$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests show that older females are most likely to trust white policemen; younger females next most likely, and younger males least likely. Younger males are most likely to criticize white policemen with older females next most likely, and older males least likely to criticize. Univariate tests show respect sharing common variance with "trust" and "stay away" related to criticism.

The females and the old are generally more positive than the males and the young. The old hardcore is more positive than the young hardcore and the old females more positive than the young males ($p < .05$).

Comment on BLACK POLICEMEN. The role (policemen) seems to determine the ractions of the samples. The black males, particularly if young and hardcore, seem most negative toward policemen, no matter whether black or white. Tables 24-27 show the details. Table 28 summarizes the responses of blacks and whites to the trust scale.

Comment on POLICEMEN. Table 28 shows the scores of the samples on the trust scale. Figure 1 presents a plot of the same data. It is clear from inspection of these data that the samples' perceptions of black and white policemen are highly correlated. The blacks have a steeper regression line, suggesting that they are willing to trust black policemen more than they are willing to trust white policemen, but the young hardcore males of both races are very distrustful toward policemen.

BLACK MILITANTS

In the previous study the hardcore blacks see BLACK MILITANTS as more hardworking, trustworthy and intelligent than do the high school blacks ($p < .02$), who in turn see them as having more of these qualities than is the case with high school whites ($p < .06$). The blacks see themselves as more likely to help them ($p < .07$), the hardcore see themselves as more likely to trust, respect and ask them for advice ($p < .0003$) and the white high school samples are least likely to engage in such behaviors ($p < .0001$). In short, BLACK MILITANTS had a positive image, particularly among the hardcore blacks.

In the present study, also, blacks had a more positive image of BLACK MILITANTS than did whites ($p < .004$), middle-class individuals had a more positive image than the hardcore who in turn had a more positive image than

Table 26

Stereotypes of Black Policeman

Independent Variables			Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.9	5.8	6.2	6.8	3.0	2.4	5.5	5.8
			35-45	5.6	6.3	6.6	6.6	1.6	2.7	6.1	6.4
		Male	18-25	4.5	6.0	4.4	5.9	2.7	1.6	5.9	7.1
			35-45	5.7	6.3	6.0	6.1	1.8	2.4	6.5	6.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.9	5.8	5.6	6.5	2.1	3.0	5.0	5.5
			35-45	4.9	6.3	5.0	6.6	3.3	1.3	5.5	6.8
		Male	18-25	4.0	4.6	5.3	4.9	3.3	2.3	6.3	5.2
			35-45	4.6	6.0	5.4	6.3	2.2	1.6	5.2	5.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.6	4.9	5.9	6.1	2.8	5.0	6.5	6.4
			35-45	5.3	6.0	6.2	6.1	3.1	1.4	6.0	6.7
		Male	18-25	4.8	5.0	5.1	4.9	3.3	3.5	6.2	5.1
			35-45	5.1	5.3	5.8	5.9	2.9	2.1	6.6	6.4
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.6	6.8	6.2	5.7	2.8	1.5	6.5	4.6
			35-45	7.7	7.9	6.6	7.3	1.1	1.0	5.3	5.9
		Male	18-25	5.2	5.4	6.1	6.7	3.8	1.9	5.7	4.9
			35-45	5.5	5.1	6.5	5.3	3.7	1.9	5.0	5.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.0	6.9	6.7	7.2	2.9	1.0	6.4	5.1
			35-45	7.0	7.0	6.5	6.5	3.2	0.9	5.8	5.7
		Male	18-25	5.9	5.8	5.4	5.7	3.6	2.5	5.9	6.0
			35-45	6.4	5.8	5.9	6.2	2.8	1.5	4.8	5.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.9	5.9	5.9	5.9	2.3	1.0	6.6	5.9
			35-45	5.9	5.7	5.3	5.4	3.2	1.4	5.5	4.5
		Male	18-25	5.3	6.5	4.8	6.0	3.3	2.4	6.0	6.9
			35-45	7.1	6.9	6.3	6.6	2.5	1.3	6.4	6.0

Table 26 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0002$) -- Blacks see him as less hardworking and trustworthy; more aggressive and less important than do whites.

2. Race x class x sex interactions ($p < .0491$) -- Black working and middle class and white hardcore and working class females see black policemen as more hardworking and intelligent than do males. However, black hardcore and white middle class reverse this trend.

Table 27

Behavioral Intentions Towards Black Policemen

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.0	1.0	4.4	6.1	3.3	4.5	3.6
			35-45	4.1	1.8	6.1	6.5	2.8	5.2	3.4
		Male	18-25	3.7	0.8	2.7	4.1	3.9	6.4	2.4
			35-45	3.6	0.9	4.6	7.0	2.0	4.1	4.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.5	1.2	7.0	5.9	2.7	5.1	2.9
			35-45	5.0	1.2	5.2	5.5	3.6	5.2	2.5
		Male	18-25	3.5	2.9	3.3	5.3	4.2	5.9	2.5
			35-45	5.5	0.8	5.2	7.2	3.5	5.6	2.7
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.8	1.6	5.6	6.1	3.1	2.8	2.1
			35-45	4.7	0.8	5.2	6.1	4.0	4.8	3.8
		Male	18-25	3.8	1.9	4.3	4.9	4.3	4.8	2.9
			35-45	3.7	1.7	3.5	5.0	3.9	4.5	2.5
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.6	0.4	6.0	5.9	3.4	3.9	2.5
			35-45	4.0	0.0	7.2	7.6	2.3	3.0	4.6
		Male	18-25	2.4	0.1	2.2	3.7	2.5	6.8	2.6
			35-45	4.4	1.7	5.8	7.0	3.0	5.9	3.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.9	0.9	7.0	6.8	2.3	3.3	3.6
			35-45	5.1	0.6	6.2	7.8	2.8	2.9	4.5
		Male	18-25	5.0	1.7	5.5	5.5	3.8	4.4	3.2
			35-45	4.6	1.4	6.0	6.7	2.9	3.1	3.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.7	1.2	6.3	6.5	4.2	2.9	3.5
			35-45	5.1	0.0	6.5	6.8	3.1	3.5	4.1
		Male	18-25	2.1	1.1	3.9	3.6	4.1	5.2	2.6
			35-45	4.8	1.1	6.9	6.5	2.6	3.8	2.9

Table 27 (Continued)

[ ] Constant variable

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0017$) -- Blacks are more likely to date a black policeman though whites are more likely to trust one according to multivariate and univariate tests. Univariate tests indicate blacks are more likely to stay away which is inversely related to their trust of black policemen.

2. Main effect for socioeconomic status ($p < .0197$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that the working class is much more likely to trust a black policeman than the middle class or hardcore. These tests also indicate an inverse linear relationship between social class and asking for advice and a direct linear relation to staying away from him.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .0001$) -- Females are more likely to trust a black policeman according to univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "go out with" indicates males are more likely to do so. Univariate tests show females more likely to respect and males more likely to stay away from black policemen; the variance appears common to trust; with stay away inversely correlated.

4. Main effect for age ($p < .0017$) -- The older age group is both more likely to trust and to respect a black policeman according to univariate and multivariate tests. Univariate tests indicate that asking for advice shares common variance with respect, with the older age group again more likely to ask for advice.

5. Socioeconomic status x age ($p < .0531$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show older hardcore workers as most likely to trust a black policeman, with younger hardcore as least likely. Only with the working class are members of the younger group more likely to trust a policeman. Multivariate data shows variance unique to go out with; younger working class are most likely and younger hardcore least likely to go out with a policeman. The only older group most likely to do so is in the hardcore.

6. Sex x age ($p < .0528$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show older females as most likely to trust black policemen; followed by younger females, older males and younger males. Univariate analyses show older males and females more likely to respect black policemen (common variance with help and ask) and older females and younger males more likely to stay away from (inverse relationship with help).

Table 28

Tendency to Trust Policemen

	Obtained From			Who are White	Who are Black
BLACKS	Hardcore	Females	y	3.9	4.4
			o	5.1	6.1
		Males	y	2.7	2.7
			o	4.3	4.6
	Working Class	Females	y	5.4	7.0
			o	4.6	5.2
		Males	y	2.9	3.3
			o	5.3	5.2
	Middle Class	Females	y	5.0	5.6
			o	4.1	5.2
		Males	y	2.9	4.3
			o	3.0	3.5
WHITES	Hardcore	Females	y	5.3	6.0
			o	7.2	7.2
		Males	y	2.5	2.2
			o	5.6	5.8
	Working Class	Females	y	7.0	7.0
			o	7.0	6.2
		Males	y	5.9	5.5
			o	6.3	6.0
	Middle Class	Females	y	5.6	6.3
			o	6.5	6.5
		Males	y	3.3	3.9
			o	6.7	6.9

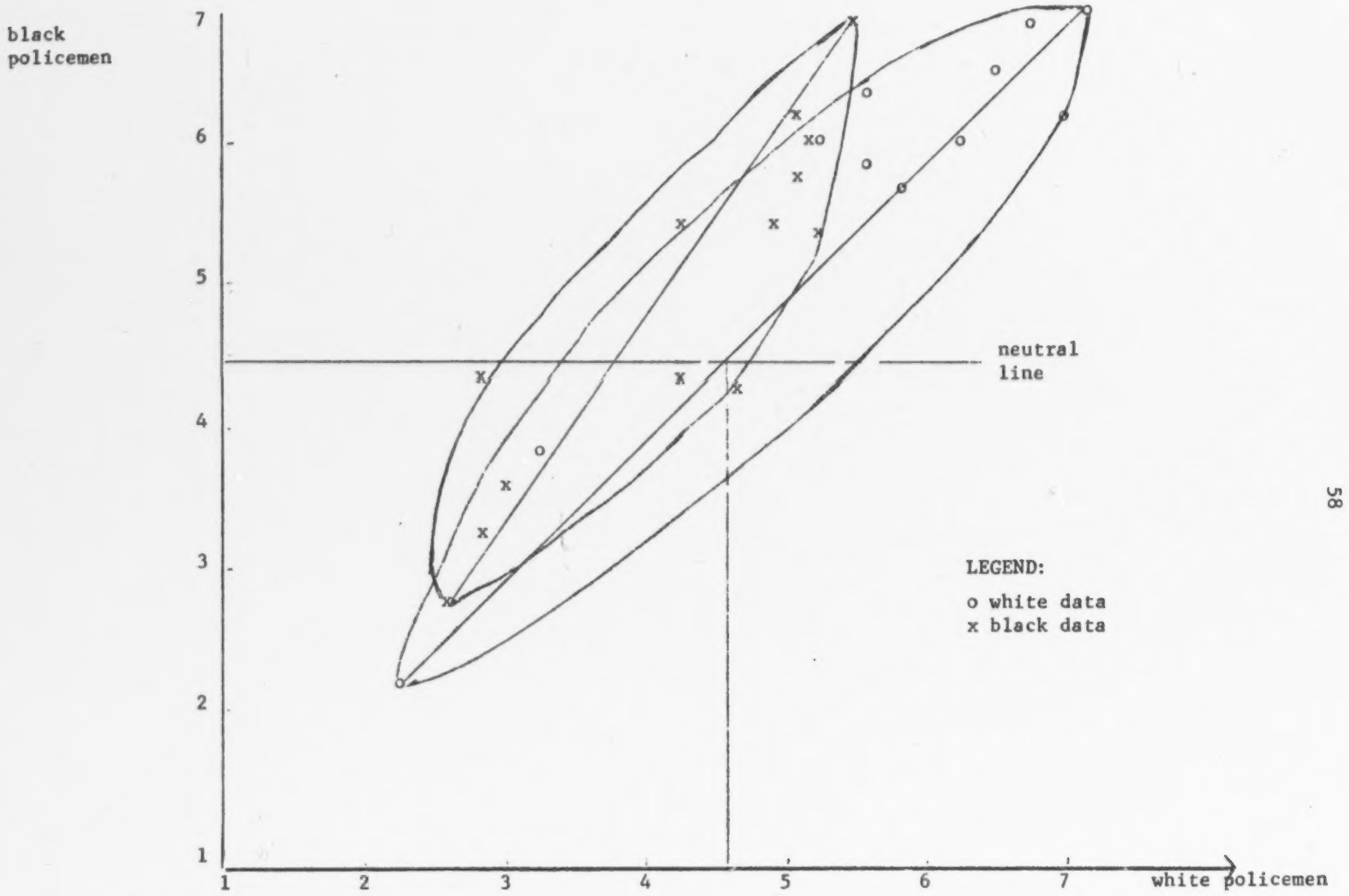


Figure 1. Trust toward black and white policemen in data of Table 28 (see text).

the working class samples ($p < .0008$); females are most positive than males ($p < .03$) and the young more positive than the old ($p < .06$). Finally, older hardcore and younger working class had relatively negative stereotypes (on hardworking, active, intelligent) relative to the other groups ($p < .02$). Table 29 shows the details. Table 30 shows the behavioral intentions, which are consistent with the stereotypes. That is, blacks are more likely to help, date and respect and whites are more likely to criticize them ($p < .0001$). The middle class is most likely to help, date and respect and the working class least likely ($p < .0001$). Males are more likely to help ($p < .0001$) and the young are also more likely to help, respect and go out with ($p < .02$) BLACK MILITANTS.

Comment on BLACK MILITANTS. Again we have consistency across studies, as well as stereotypes and behavioral intentions. The black, young, middle class are most favorable toward this stimulus.

People Thriving Under the System

UNCLE TOMS

In the previous study UNCLE TOMS did not generate significant differences in stereotypes between groups, but there were differences in the behavioral intentions. Blacks were less likely ($p < .001$) to help, go out with, trust, respect and more likely to stay away from UNCLE TOMS than was the case with whites. The white high school students, however, were more likely to stay away and less likely to go out with UNCLE TOMS, than was the case with their black counterparts ($p < .03$).

Table 31 shows the details of the data obtained in the present study. We have a highly dependable ($p < .0000$) tendency for blacks to see UNCLE TOMS as less trustworthy, hardworking, intelligent and important than do whites. A similar effect ($p < .0000$) shows blacks less likely than whites to

Table 29

Stereotypes of Black Militants

Independent Variables			Trust worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female 18-25	4.6	6.2	5.8	6.5	2.1	2.6	6.0	6.8
		Female 35-45	4.0	4.4	4.8	5.4	2.9	2.9	5.0	6.0
		Male 18-25	3.8	4.8	5.5	6.7	3.7	2.3	6.3	6.4
		Male 35-45	4.4	5.4	5.4	5.9	2.1	2.2	4.7	6.5
	Working Class	Female 18-25	3.5	5.8	5.3	6.6	2.1	2.7	5.6	5.6
		Female 35-45	4.3	3.7	6.0	5.9	3.0	2.9	5.8	5.9
		Male 18-25	3.8	5.6	5.4	6.7	2.9	2.8	5.9	7.1
		Male 35-45	5.0	6.0	6.8	7.6	2.5	2.1	3.8	5.4
	Middle Class	Female 18-25	4.6	5.6	5.8	6.3	3.6	1.3	5.2	6.4
		Female 35-45	4.2	4.2	4.8	6.2	3.0	1.1	6.8	7.4
		Male 18-25	4.8	6.4	6.1	6.8	2.0	2.2	6.5	7.3
		Male 35-45	4.6	5.4	5.7	6.3	2.8	1.9	7.3	7.7
WHITES	Hardcore	Female 18-25	3.5	4.5	4.7	7.6	2.2	1.4	7.0	7.6
		Female 35-45	2.7	3.9	3.4	4.3	3.5	3.1	5.6	6.0
		Male 18-25	3.2	4.7	4.6	6.6	4.5	2.6	6.6	6.3
		Male 35-45	3.9	3.9	4.2	5.8	4.0	3.1	5.0	6.9
	Working Class	Female 18-25	2.7	3.4	4.1	6.1	2.3	2.2	6.5	6.0
		Female 35-45	3.2	3.4	4.6	5.2	3.9	3.1	6.2	5.7
		Male 18-25	2.2	3.6	4.2	4.9	4.2	4.5	5.1	5.9
		Male 35-45	1.9	3.7	4.3	5.9	3.1	2.9	4.9	5.9
	Middle Class	Female 18-25	4.4	5.8	5.6	6.6	2.6	1.5	6.8	7.2
		Female 35-45	3.4	3.7	4.0	5.8	3.5	2.0	6.5	7.4
		Male 18-25	5.3	6.4	6.2	6.5	3.2	2.4	6.5	7.0
		Male 35-45	4.6	5.3	5.6	6.6	3.4	3.0	6.6	7.1

Table 29 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .004$) -- Univariate tests indicate that blacks see black militants as more trustworthy, more hardworking, more intelligent, and less lazy than whites see them; however, the "hardworking" variable has so much common variance with trustworthy that the effect disappears in the multivariate tests, but the trustworthy and intelligent variables remain significant indicating the effect is due to unique variance in those variables. Finally, multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to "tough" variable, blacks see black militants as less tough than whites see them.

2. Main effect for social class ($p < .0008$) -- Univariate tests indicate that the working class sees black militants as less trustworthy, less hardworking and less important than the hardcore who see black militants as less trustworthy, less hardworking and less important than do the middle class; however, the multivariate tests suggest that the effect for hardworking and important may be due to common variance with trustworthy. Also univariate and multivariate tests indicate that the working class sees black militants as less tough than do the hardcore who see them as less tough than the middle class see them. Finally, the univariate tests suggest that the working class sees black militants as less aggressive, than the hardcore who see them as less aggressive than do the middle class; however, multivariate tests indicate that this is due to common variance with the "tough" variable.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .03$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that females see black militants as more hardworking, less lazy and less tough than males see them.

4. Main effect for age ($p < .06$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that younger people see black militants are more hardworking, more active and more tough than older people see them.

5. Class x age interaction ($p < .02$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that older hardcore and younger working class see black militants as less intelligent and less active than the other groups see them while older hardcore and both young and old working class see them as less tough than younger hardcore and both young and old middle class see them.

Table 30

Behavioral Intentions Toward Black Militants

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.0	1.3	3.9	5.6	3.0	3.9	2.8
			35-45	2.2	1.5	3.6	3.8	3.0	4.6	1.4
		Male	18-25	2.7	2.3	2.0	4.7	2.1	4.6	1.5
			35-45	2.9	1.6	2.8	4.0	2.9	4.4	3.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	2.1	0.7	2.5	4.1	3.2	5.5	0.8
			35-45	2.6	1.1	3.0	3.8	3.7	5.2	1.6
		Male	18-25	4.2	3.2	3.6	5.4	3.9	5.6	3.2
			35-45	4.0	1.7	3.5	5.8	5.0	5.5	1.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	3.8	2.2	3.9	5.5	3.5	4.3	2.2
			35-45	4.0	2.4	3.8	5.5	2.9	3.9	2.4
		Male	18-25	5.5	5.8	5.3	6.0	3.2	3.0	3.1
			35-45	4.5	3.6	4.2	5.9	3.8	4.4	1.8
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	1.9	0.6	2.7	3.2	4.0	5.6	1.7
			35-45	0.2	0.0	1.6	2.4	4.2	6.1	0.4
		Male	18-25	2.2	2.0	2.6	4.1	3.0	6.2	1.9
			35-45	2.5	1.4	2.3	2.7	4.3	6.1	0.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	0.5	0.0	2.2	2.3	5.7	5.4	1.4
			35-45	0.4	0.2	1.0	1.7	5.7	7.3	0.9
		Male	18-25	1.0	0.4	0.7	1.3	5.3	6.6	1.0
			35-45	0.7	0.5	1.1	1.4	5.4	6.9	0.6
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.4	2.6	4.1	5.1	3.8	4.0	2.7
			35-45	1.4	0.5	1.9	2.1	5.5	7.0	0.6
		Male	18-25	4.8	2.8	4.6	5.7	4.6	4.1	3.0
			35-45	2.2	0.7	2.6	2.8	5.3	6.3	0.7

Table 30 (Continued)

☐ Constant variable

1. Contrast for black vs. white ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that blacks are more likely to help, date and respect black militants; whites are more likely to criticize. Univariate tests indicate trust and respect share common variance with help and respect, while stay away is inversely correlated with these items.

2. Contrast for socioeconomic status ($p < .0001$) -- The middle class is the most likely to help and date black militants according to both univariate and multivariate tests. The working class is least likely to do so, but is most likely to criticize black militants. Univariate tests show trust and respect following the same pattern as help and date, and sharing common variance. Stay away also shares common variance, though it is correlated inversely.

3. Contrast for sex ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show males as more likely to help and to date black militants; multivariate tests indicate that variance unique to trust shows males more likely to trust black militants.

4. Contrast for age ($p < .0172$) -- The 18-25 age group is more likely to help black militants according to univariate and multivariate tests. Univariate tests show common variance between going out with, respect, ask for advice and stay away from with the younger more likely to do all but stay away from--which the older group is most likely to do.

help, trust and more likely to criticize UNCLE TOMS. Blacks also show less respect and a smaller tendency to ask for advice, coupled with a stronger tendency to stay away from UNCLE TOMS than do whites.

There was a tendency ($p < .001$) for males to stay away from UNCLE TOMS to a greater extent than was the case with females, who were more likely to trust them; however, the females were less likely to go out with them, thus displaying much ambivalence.

Comment on UNCLE TOMS. This stimulus is universally rejected, even by whites who are not favorable toward blacks. The hardcore and middle class tend to be less rejecting than the working class. Black males of hardcore and middle-class background, however, are most likely to stay away from the stimulus ($p < .05$).

HUSTLERS

The previous study showed no significant effects across the four samples on the stereotypes, but there was a dependable ($p < .0006$) tendency for the blacks to report they would not help, trust and they would stay away from a HUSTLER.

Table 33 shows the stereotypes obtained in the present study. There is a dependable sex effect ($p < .02$) indicating that females see HUSTLERS as less trustworthy, and intelligent than do males. Females also see them as more important than do males. The younger groups see them as less trustworthy and less aggressive than do the older samples ($p < .05$). Table 34 shows the behavioral intentions. Again, blacks are more likely ($p < .05$) to stay away from and to criticize hustlers; they also distrust them more than do whites. Members of the middle class and the working class are more likely ($p < .003$) to criticize a HUSTLER than are members of the hardcore. On a cluster of behavioral intentions, males are slightly more positive than females ($p < .0001$), but both sexes reject the stimulus.

Table 31

Stereotypes of Uncle Toms

Independent Variables				Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	2.7	4.2	4.0	5.1	2.6	3.6	3.8	4.7
			35-45	1.8	4.2	3.0	4.4	3.1	3.8	2.6	4.4
		Male	18-25	0.5	4.1	3.6	5.6	4.2	3.2	3.4	4.5
			35-45	1.6	4.0	2.4	3.9	4.1	4.1	2.1	2.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	0.7	3.3	2.4	4.6	4.6	4.9	1.7	2.7
			35-45	1.4	4.8	3.6	5.1	3.9	3.1	2.3	3.4
		Male	18-25	1.0	4.0	3.0	4.3	4.8	5.6	2.3	2.6
			35-45	0.9	3.9	3.2	5.5	3.1	4.1	2.3	5.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	1.6	5.7	4.4	6.3	2.8	2.6	3.2	6.1
			35-45	1.9	5.3	4.3	6.3	3.3	3.8	2.5	3.7
		Male	18-25	1.7	3.8	3.9	4.6	3.0	3.4	2.9	3.1
			35-45	1.6	4.7	3.8	5.3	4.7	5.5	1.9	2.0
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.1	4.3	4.2	5.0	4.5	3.3	4.6	3.2
			35-45	4.4	4.7	3.7	4.3	2.9	1.8	2.8	2.7
		Male	18-25	3.4	5.1	4.0	3.6	4.0	3.5	3.5	3.2
			35-45	4.3	5.1	5.1	6.0	4.2	3.3	3.9	4.4
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.5	5.0	4.8	4.7	3.7	2.4	5.1	4.9
			35-45	6.3	5.7	5.2	4.4	3.6	1.8	3.1	3.7
		Male	18-25	4.1	4.5	4.5	4.8	4.4	4.3	3.6	4.8
			35-45	4.1	4.8	4.3	4.4	3.6	3.0	3.6	3.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.2	5.7	4.6	4.2	3.5	1.6	3.4	3.0
			35-45	3.6	4.4	4.3	4.3	3.7	3.1	3.5	3.8
		Male	18-25	4.1	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.6	2.7	3.2	4.3
			35-45	5.3	5.4	5.3	5.1	3.6	3.8	4.2	4.0

Table 31 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0000$) -- Univariate tests indicate that blacks see Uncle Toms as less trustworthy, less hardworking, less intelligent, less important and less tough than whites do; however, multivariate tests indicate that all are due to unique to each variable except intelligent which is due to common variance with trustworthy and/or hardworking.

Table 32

Behavioral Intentions Toward Uncle Toms

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	2.5	1.1	1.5	3.2	4.9	5.1	1.5
			35-45	1.1	0.9	0.6	1.3	5.1	5.5	0.2
		Male	18-25	1.1	0.3	0.5	0.5	5.5	7.2	1.1
			35-45	1.6	0.7	0.9	2.2	6.5	7.3	3.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	1.1	0.4	1.0	1.3	5.4	7.0	0.7
			35-45	2.2	1.2	2.1	1.5	5.5	6.7	2.2
		Male	18-25	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.6	6.4	6.5	1.1
			35-45	2.6	2.4	1.3	4.2	6.2	4.9	1.1
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	2.1	0.5	1.3	1.3	5.4	4.2	0.2
			35-45	2.5	0.8	1.3	1.5	6.4	6.8	0.7
		Male	18-25	3.3	1.9	1.1	1.7	6.1	6.5	0.9
			35-45	1.3	1.3	1.1	0.9	6.3	7.8	0.9
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	2.3	0.7	3.6	3.9	3.6	3.7	2.2
			35-45	3.1	1.0	3.0	3.5	3.3	3.8	1.8
		Male	18-25	3.3	1.9	3.7	4.3	4.3	5.5	2.4
			35-45	3.0	1.9	3.6	3.4	4.0	5.9	2.5
	Working Class	Female	18-25	3.9	4.0	4.7	4.5	3.5	2.6	2.9
			35-45	4.4	1.6	4.7	4.8	3.0	3.8	3.1
		Male	18-25	3.5	1.9	3.1	3.4	3.8	4.7	2.6
			35-45	2.2	0.4	2.1	2.1	3.8	5.3	1.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	2.9	1.1	3.0	2.3	5.0	5.5	1.4
			35-45	3.5	0.5	3.6	3.5	3.1	5.0	0.8
		Male	18-25	2.7	2.0	2.8	2.9	4.9	5.1	2.1
			35-45	4.2	1.7	4.2	4.0	3.4	5.1	2.2

Table 32 (Continued)

1. Main effects for race ($p < .0000$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests indicate that blacks would be less likely than whites to help and trust Uncle Toms, but more likely than whites to criticize. However, from univariate tests, blacks would be more likely than whites to exhibit less respect toward, and ask for less advice from Uncle Toms as well as staying away from Uncle Toms more than whites would. These items appear related mostly by common variance.

2. Main effect for sex ($p < .0014$) -- If they were to go out at all with an Uncle Tom, a male would be more likely to go out with one than a female would. Males would also be more likely to stay away from Uncle Toms according to both multivariate and univariate tests. Variance unique to trust shows that females are more likely to trust Uncle Toms.

3. Socioeconomic status x sex ($p < .0133$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests show hardcore and middle class males more likely than their female counterparts to ask an Uncle Tom for advice; working class females are more likely than working class males to ask for advice. Variance unique to "stay away from" shows males of all classes more likely to stay away from Uncle Toms.

4. Race x socioeconomic status x sex ($p < .0563$) -- According to both univariate and multivariate tests, black males of hardcore and middle class backgrounds are more likely than their female counterparts to stay away from Uncle Toms; with working class females more likely to stay away. For whites, males of hardcore and working class backgrounds are more likely to stay away from Uncle Toms, whereas the females of the middle class would be likely to stay away. Based on univariate tests respect seems related to trust.

Table 33

Stereotypes of Hustlers

Independent Variables				Trust-worthy	Hard-working	Intelli-gent	Active	Lazy	Unim-portant	Tough	Aggres-sive
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	2.1	4.6	3.3	5.5	3.9	4.5	4.5	5.4
			35-45	1.6	2.4	3.7	5.5	3.8	2.9	4.6	5.8
		Male	18-25	1.4	5.5	5.4	6.7	2.4	3.5	5.0	5.8
			35-45	3.6	3.7	4.4	6.7	3.4	3.8	4.6	6.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	1.2	3.9	3.9	5.8	3.2	3.6	3.6	5.5
			35-45	1.6	2.8	5.3	6.7	5.0	3.0	5.4	4.8
		Male	18-25	1.6	3.4	4.1	6.1	3.8	3.0	5.6	5.1
			35-45	3.9	6.3	5.4	6.4	3.7	2.9	3.3	6.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	2.1	4.1	4.7	5.0	4.1	2.9	5.6	6.3
			35-45	1.8	4.0	4.8	6.9	2.5	2.4	5.9	7.1
		Male	18-25	2.6	4.1	5.8	6.3	2.6	4.2	6.0	6.5
			35-45	2.4	4.8	6.4	6.2	4.2	4.2	5.7	7.3
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	1.8	4.3	5.1	5.1	3.7	3.3	5.1	5.7
			35-45	2.5	3.5	3.3	4.9	3.0	2.4	4.5	5.7
		Male	18-25	2.6	2.2	4.9	5.8	4.6	3.8	3.9	4.1
			35-45	3.5	5.2	6.2	6.4	3.5	4.0	5.2	6.2
	Working Class	Female	18-25	1.3	2.7	3.8	5.7	3.5	3.7	5.9	5.3
			35-45	2.7	4.2	4.4	6.3	4.0	3.0	4.7	5.9
		Male	18-25	1.1	2.5	3.8	5.0	4.4	4.6	4.5	6.0
			35-45	2.2	3.6	4.5	5.4	3.1	2.3	4.0	6.7
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	2.4	4.4	4.1	5.1	3.3	1.7	5.4	6.0
			35-45	2.2	4.5	4.9	6.6	3.5	3.7	5.5	6.7
		Male	18-25	2.3	4.9	5.0	5.7	4.1	4.0	4.7	6.5
			35-45	3.4	4.9	5.5	5.6	3.4	4.2	5.9	7.0

Table 33 (Continued)

1. Main effect for sex ($p < .02$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that females see hustlers as less trustworthy and less intelligent than males see them. Also, the multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to unimportant, females see hustlers as more important than males do.

2. Main effect for age ($p < .05$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that younger people see hustlers as less trustworthy and less aggressive than older people see them

3. Race x sex x age ($p < .03$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that black younger females and older males see hustlers as less tough than black older females and younger males, while for whites this trend is exactly reversed, i.e., young females and older males see hustlers as tougher than older females and younger males. Finally, multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to lazy, young black males see hustlers as much less lazy than young white males while the other cells are intermediate.

Table 34

Behavioral Intentions Toward Hustlers

Independent Variables				Help	Go Out With	Trust	Respect	Criticize	Stay Away From	Ask For Advice
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	1.7	0.3	0.7	2.5	4.7	6.1	1.3
			35-45	0.9	0.4	1.4	2.3	4.2	5.5	0.1
		Male	18-25	1.8	2.3	1.4	2.5	2.4	3.6	2.1
			35-45	1.6	1.5	1.4	2.4	4.3	6.4	2.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	0.4	0.3	1.0	1.8	5.2	6.1	0.6
			35-45	2.5	2.0	1.7	2.9	4.8	6.8	1.7
		Male	18-25	2.1	2.6	1.8	3.3	3.5	5.4	1.6
			35-45	3.2	2.6	2.6	5.0	5.1	5.3	1.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	0.4	0.3	0.8	1.4	5.8	6.8	1.1
			35-45	1.5	0.4	0.6	1.2	4.6	5.2	0.2
		Male	18-25	3.5	2.6	2.2	4.3	4.3	3.4	2.5
			35-45	2.6	2.2	2.4	2.9	5.1	5.8	0.8
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	1.4	0.4	1.5	2.6	3.5	6.9	1.2
			35-45	0.9	0.3	1.0	2.5	3.2	6.0	0.8
		Male	18-25	3.1	3.1	1.9	4.2	2.8	3.8	2.7
			35-45	2.0	2.4	2.6	3.8	3.3	5.8	1.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	1.0	0.4	1.3	1.3	4.4	6.8	0.7
			35-45	1.1	0.9	2.1	1.7	6.2	7.4	0.9
		Male	18-25	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.9	5.2	6.9	1.1
			35-45	1.8	0.8	1.2	1.4	5.7	6.2	0.7
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	1.6	0.1	1.5	1.8	4.4	5.2	1.2
			35-45	1.1	0.2	1.0	1.2	6.1	7.5	0.5
		Male	18-25	2.1	1.5	2.3	2.7	6.2	5.8	1.6
			35-45	2.1	1.3	1.6	2.1	5.4	7.3	0.5

Table 34 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0543$) -- Univariate tests show blacks more likely than whites to stay away from hustlers, but this appears related to the greater likelihood of blacks and criticize the hustler. Based on multivariate tests, variance unique to "trust" shows whites more likely to trust hustlers.

2. Main effect for socioeconomic status ($p < .0028$) -- Both members of the middle class and working class are much more likely than members of the hardcore to criticize a hustler according to both univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests indicate a linear progression of respect for the hustler with the hardcore showing the most respect.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .0001$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests show that males are both more likely to help and to date hustlers than are females. Univariate tests show a common variance between trust, respect, asking for help, and staying away from hustlers--with males most likely to trust, respect and ask for help; females more likely to stay away from.

Comment on HUSTLER. This is an unpopular stimulus, but there are some differences in emphasis. The blacks, females, middle and working class and the young are more negative than the other samples.

Discussion of Person Perception

In the present study we replicated, with considerable success, the grouping of stimuli determined by the previous study. Among blacks, ingroup (mother, father) persons and teachers receive favorable ratings; white stimuli, hustlers and Uncle Toms are situated on the other side of the evaluative continuum.

The meaning of specific scales seems to differ from one sample to another. Figure 2 shows the meaning of the scale aggressive, in relation to the behavioral intention to trust. It is clear, from the location of the highly evaluated stimulus persons (mother, father, self) and the stimuli low in evaluation (Uncle Toms, hustlers) that aggressive is a favorable trait for the hardcore black, and the working-class black males. It is a mildly negative trait for the middle-class blacks and the whites.

Figure 3 shows differences of the use of this trait in different samples. A similar contrast between hardcore and middle class can be seen for the behavioral intentions to help black job foremen. Figure 4 shows that the hardcore of both races are lower than the middle class. This cannot be due to a response set, because it does not appear with other stimuli.

Table 35 examines the responses of our samples to black and white foremen and policemen on the would respect scale. First we note that the role is more important than the race of the stimulus person, particularly among white subjects. This can be determined by inspection of the means for the white/black policeman columns, which are very similar, and the black/white foreman columns which are also very similar, while the means across these pairs of

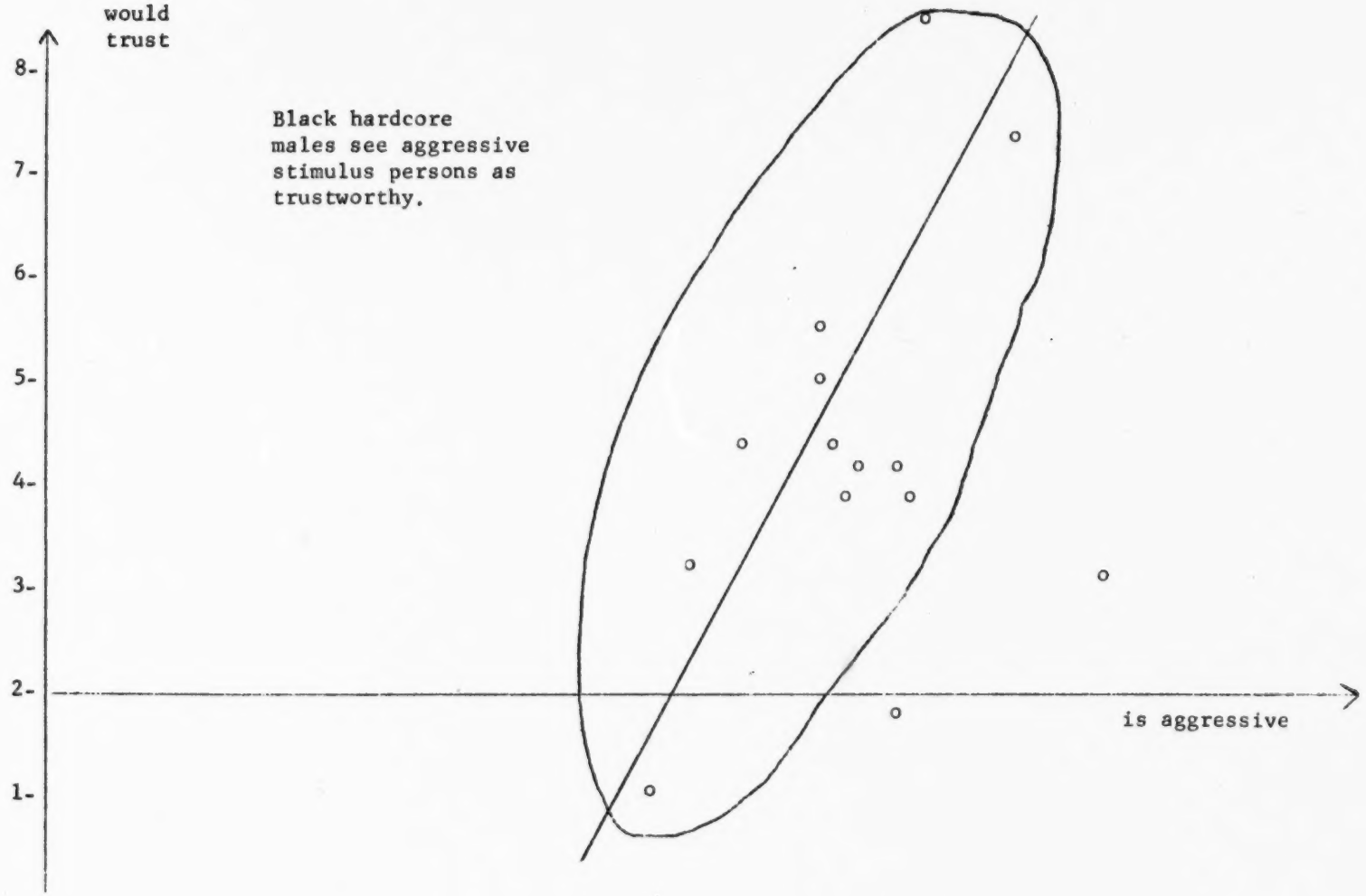
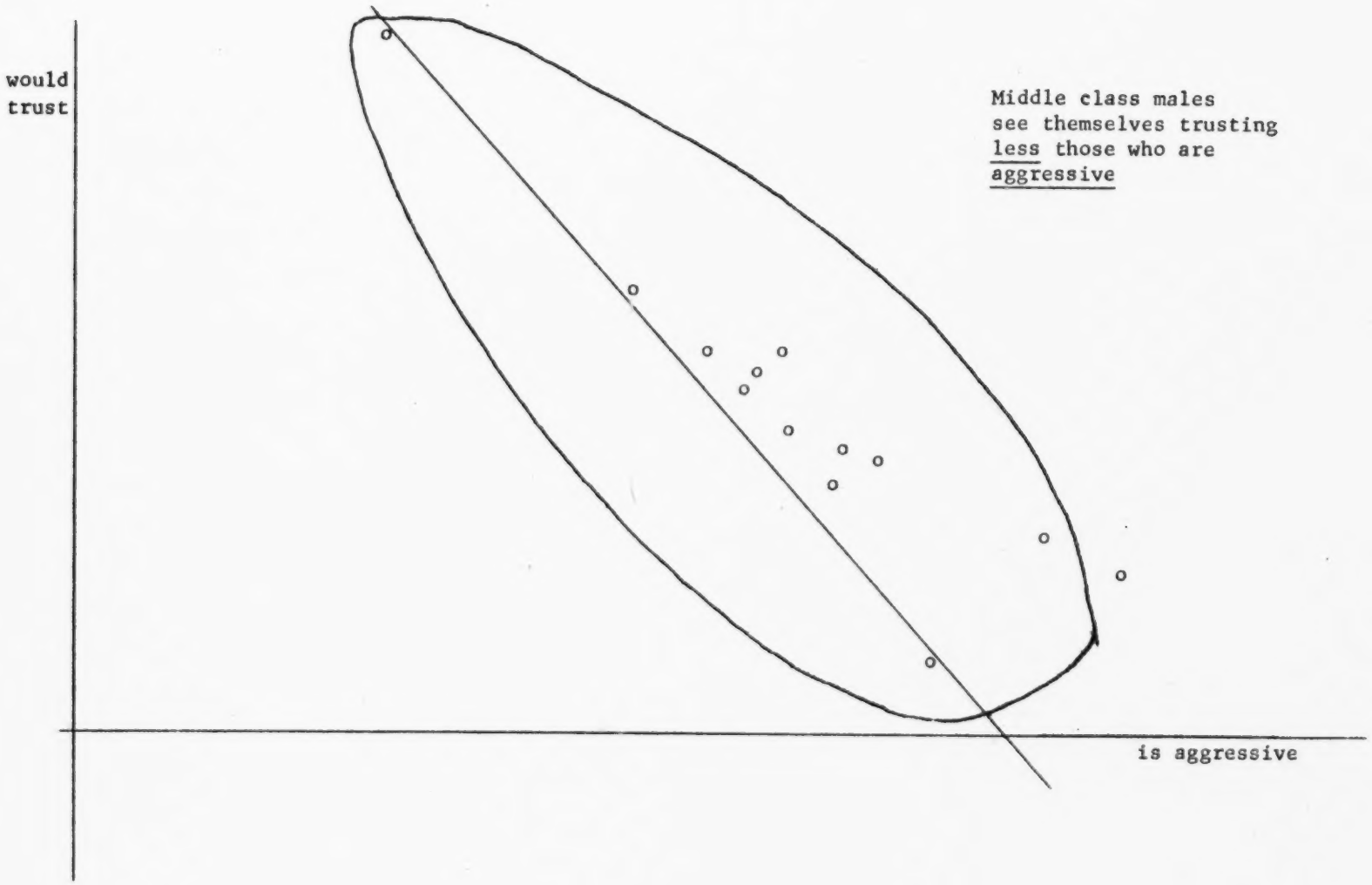


Figure 2. Differences in the meaning of aggressive.


would
trust
Middle class males
see themselves trusting
less those who are
aggressive
is aggressive

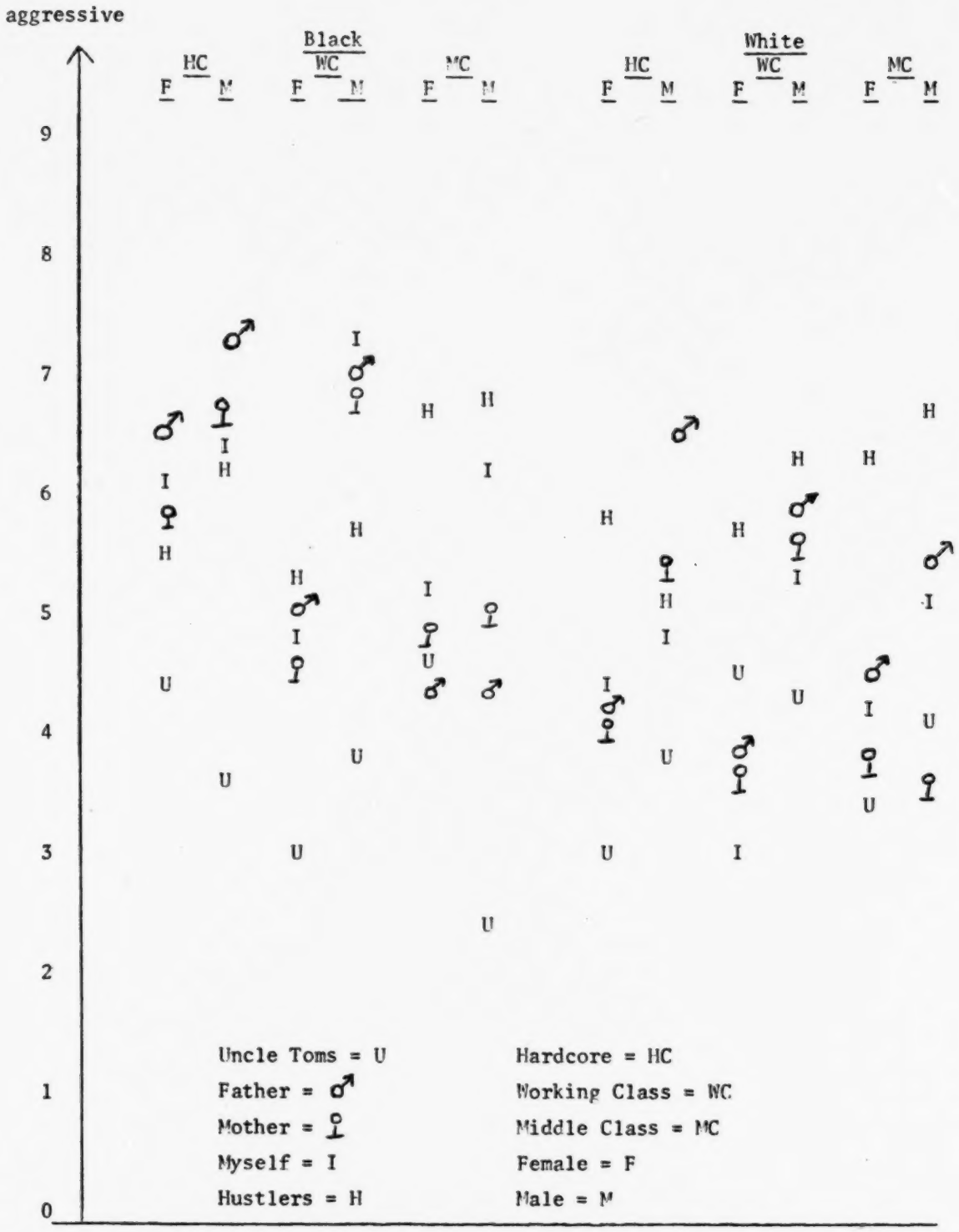


Figure 3. Meaning of aggressive in different samples

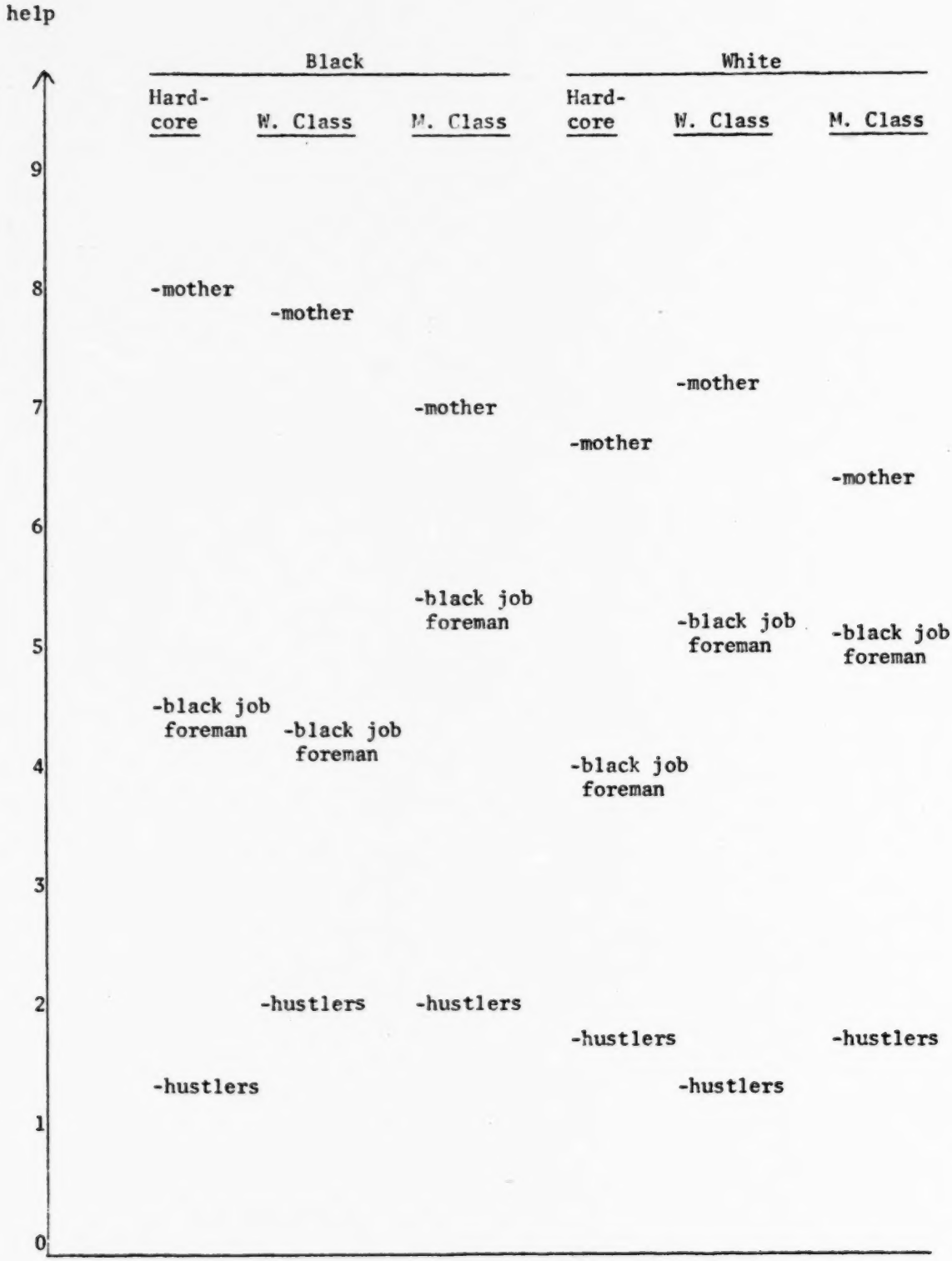


Figure 4. Intentions to help for various samples.

Table 35

Respect for Foremen and Policemen

				Black Job Foreman	Black Policeman	White Job Foreman	White Policeman
Black	Hardcore	Females	Y	5.2	6.1	5.2	5.4
			O	6.0	6.5	5.4	6.5
		Males	Y	5.5	4.1	5.3	3.8
			O	4.8	7.0	4.8	6.8
	Working Class	Females	Y	5.2	5.9	5.3	6.5
			O	5.1	5.5	5.1	5.5
		Males	Y	5.8	5.3	4.0	3.7
			O	7.5	7.2	7.5	6.9
	Middle Class	Females	Y	4.6	6.1	4.9	5.0
			O	6.5	6.1	3.9	4.1
		Males	Y	7.0	4.9	4.4	3.8
			O	6.0	5.0	4.4	4.2
White	Hardcore	Females	Y	5.2	5.9	5.0	5.7
			O	5.8	7.6	5.9	7.6
		Males	Y	4.7	3.7	5.1	4.5
			O	6.1	7.0	5.6	6.3
	Working Class	Females	Y	6.4	6.8	6.4	7.2
			O	5.9	7.8	5.8	7.8
		Males	Y	5.6	5.5	5.3	5.5
			O	5.3	6.7	5.6	6.6
	Middle Class	Females	Y	5.8	6.5	5.7	5.6
			O	5.3	6.8	5.3	6.6
		Males	Y	4.8	3.6	4.5	3.1
			O	6.3	6.5	6.6	6.3
Black*	Hardcore Males			5.0	4.7	5.2	3.6
	High School Males			4.2	3.9	4.6	2.8
White*	High School Males			3.7	4.8	4.4	5.4
	College Females			5.7	6.1	5.8	5.5

*Data from Triandis, Feldman and Harvey, 1970.

columns tend to be different. Note that this is not so regular among black subjects. Among blacks there is a tendency for more respect for the white than the black policeman, but more respect for the black than the white foreman.

There is a strong tendency for black hardcore males to give lower responses to the would trust scale than do the white middle-class males. This result is not due to a response set, because this tendency does not occur on other scales. For example, Figure 5 shows all points connecting black and white means to have the same direction of slope, but Figure 6 does not. Furthermore, the difference in the meaning of trust and aggression is dramatically shown in Figure 2, where the two scales correlate positively for the black hardcore and negatively for the whites. Closer inspection, however, reveals that the white hardcore males are about as untrusting as the black hardcore males. In Figure 7 we show the responses of the young hardcore black males and middle-class white males, as well as those of the white hardcore males. Note that the white middle-class males respond always with more trust (above the 45° line) to the stimuli, when compared with the black hardcore males. However, this does not happen with the white hardcore males, who respond like the black hardcore males.

The negativism and suspicion of the hardcore samples, revealed in this data has great importance for the study of behavior in job settings. Clearly, a hardcore worker, white or black, coming in a middle class white environment will find his responses to others "out of tune" with the responses of the majority. His suspicion is likely to be translated into avoidance behaviors which will most likely start a vicious circle of rejection by the other workers and the foremen.

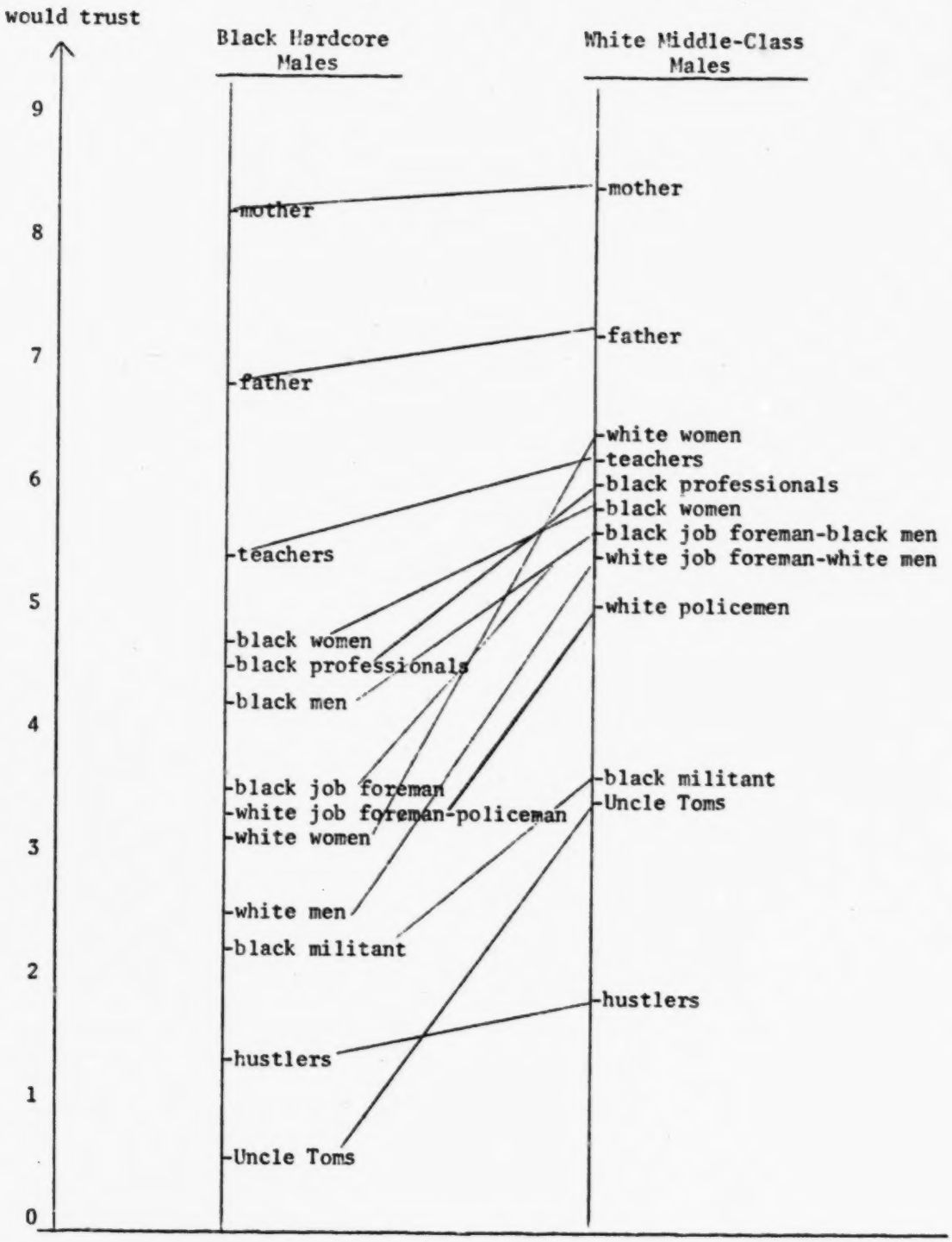


Figure 5. A trust scale from black hardcore and white middle-class

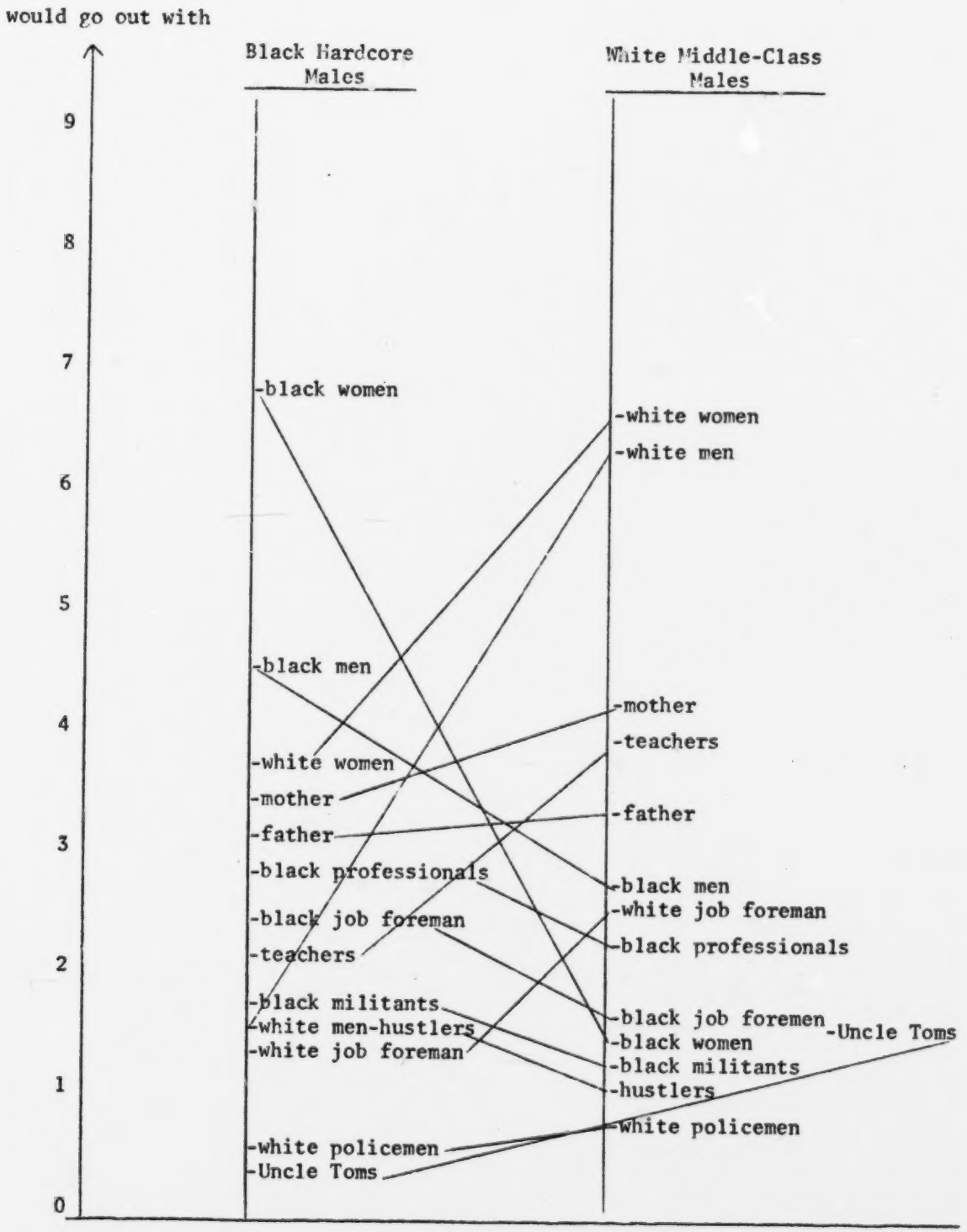
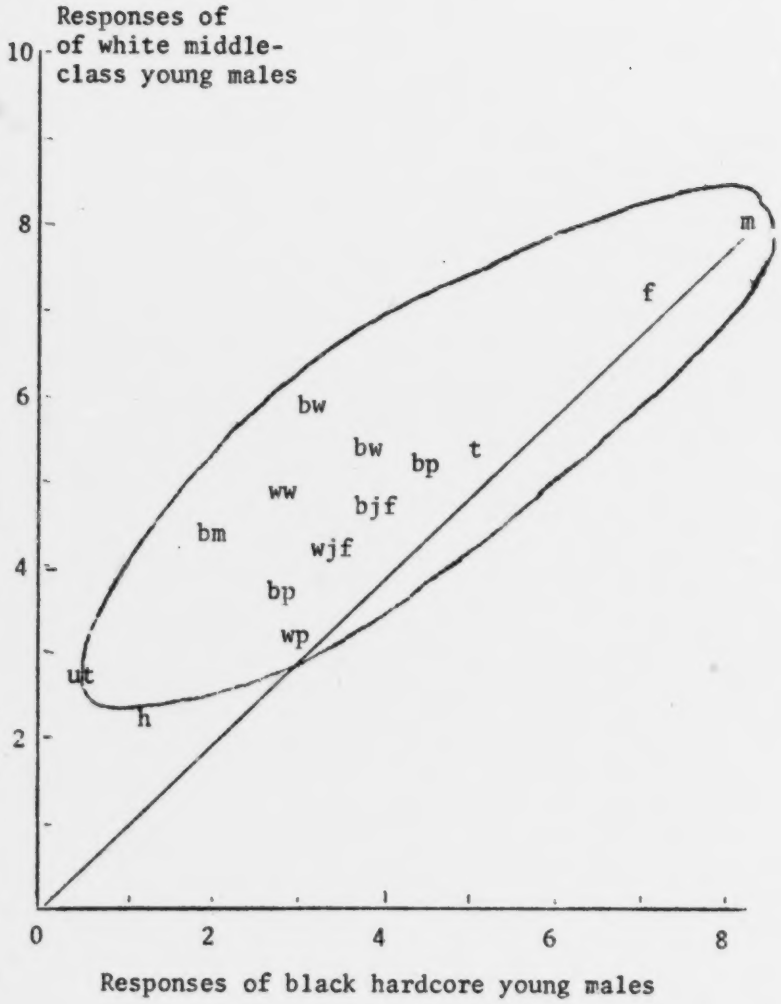


Figure 6. Go out with scale for black hardcore and white middle-class males.



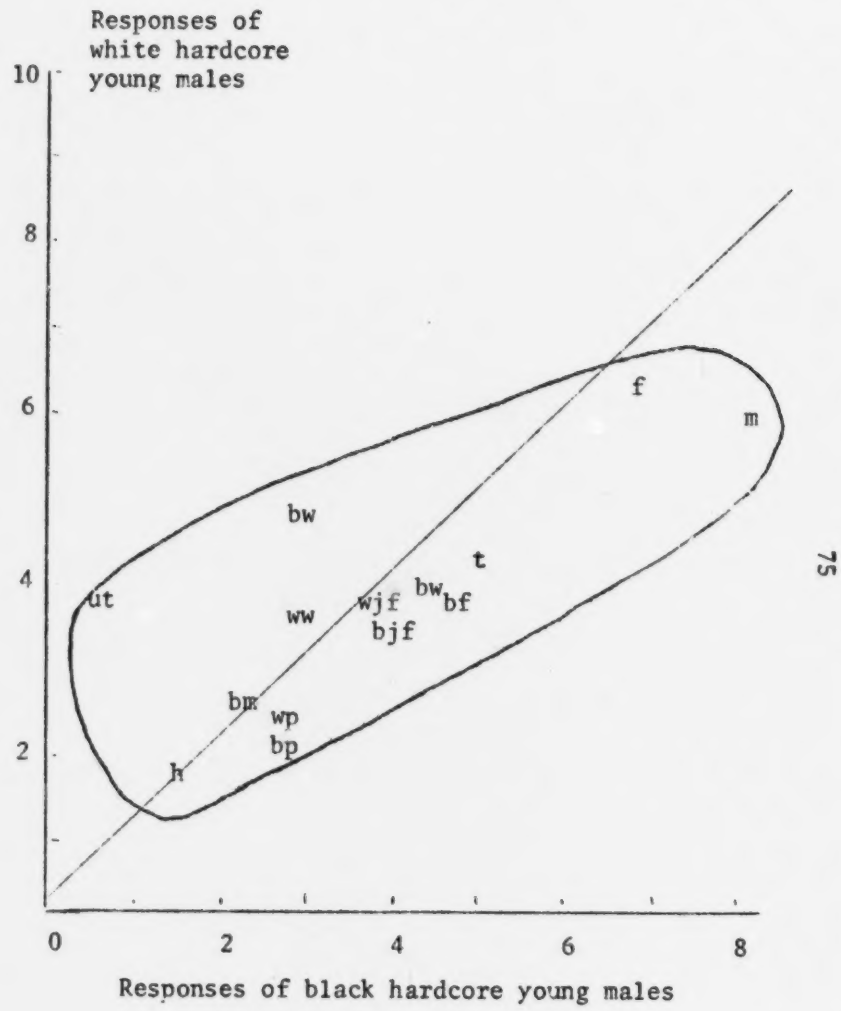


Figure 7. Responses on <u>trust</u> scale of three samples.

We now turn to an examination of who is trusted by the hardcore. Blacks and whites correlate rather highly in their pattern of trust. The only deviations from the 45° line are for Uncle Toms and white women who are, understandably, much more acceptable to the whites than to the blacks. We note the considerable rejection of policemen--both white and black-- hustlers and black men and white women.

The black hardcore rejection of black men is extremely significant, since it suggests distrust toward significant segments of what might be expected to be an ingroup. The white hardcore rejection of white women may be related to their relatively low trust toward their mother (only 6.0, when other samples give 8.0). The black hardcore reject 12 out of 15 stimuli on the trust scale; the white hardcore also reject 12/15. The white middle class, on the other hand, reject only 4 out of 15. This is a highly significant finding.

Turning now to who these samples would criticize, we note that the black hardcore males only dare to criticize Uncle Toms. The middle class, both black and white, are much more willing to criticize. Figure 8 shows that the majority of the middle class and the white entries are much higher than the entries of the black hardcore males. The blacks are most likely to criticize Uncle Toms and white policemen; the whites, hustlers and black militants. Ingroup targets are less likely to receive criticism, but among whites there is some inhibition of criticism toward black professionals.

We have also plotted in Figure 9 the responses of six samples to the perceived importance of MYSELF. We note that the greatest unimportance of MYSELF is seen by the old working-class individuals, both white and black. The hardcore blacks also feel unimportant, relative to other samples. In Figure 10 we can see they see themselves about as unimportant as any of the stimuli.

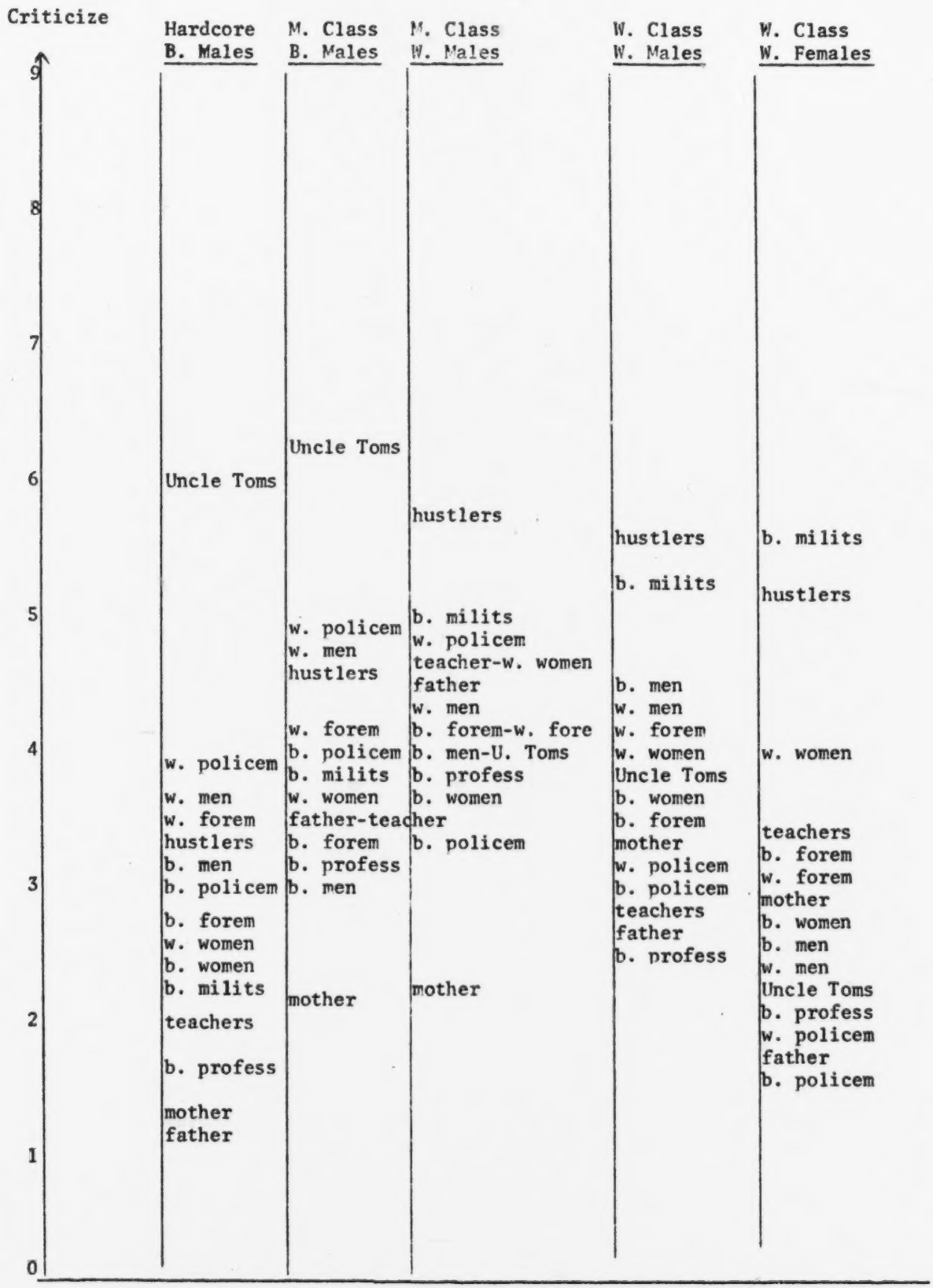


Figure 8. Intentions to criticize various targets by five samples.

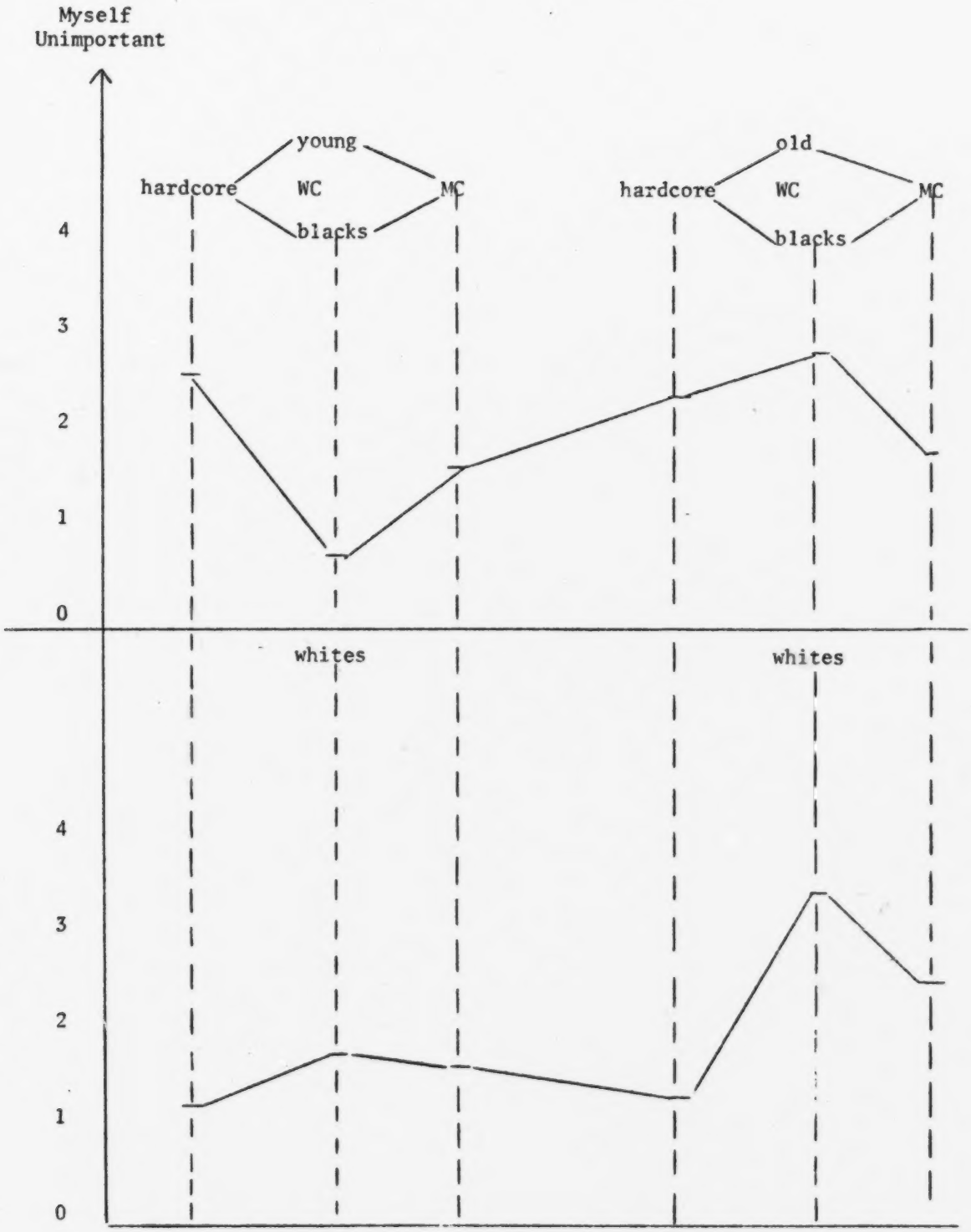


Figure 9. Responses of six samples to importance of self.

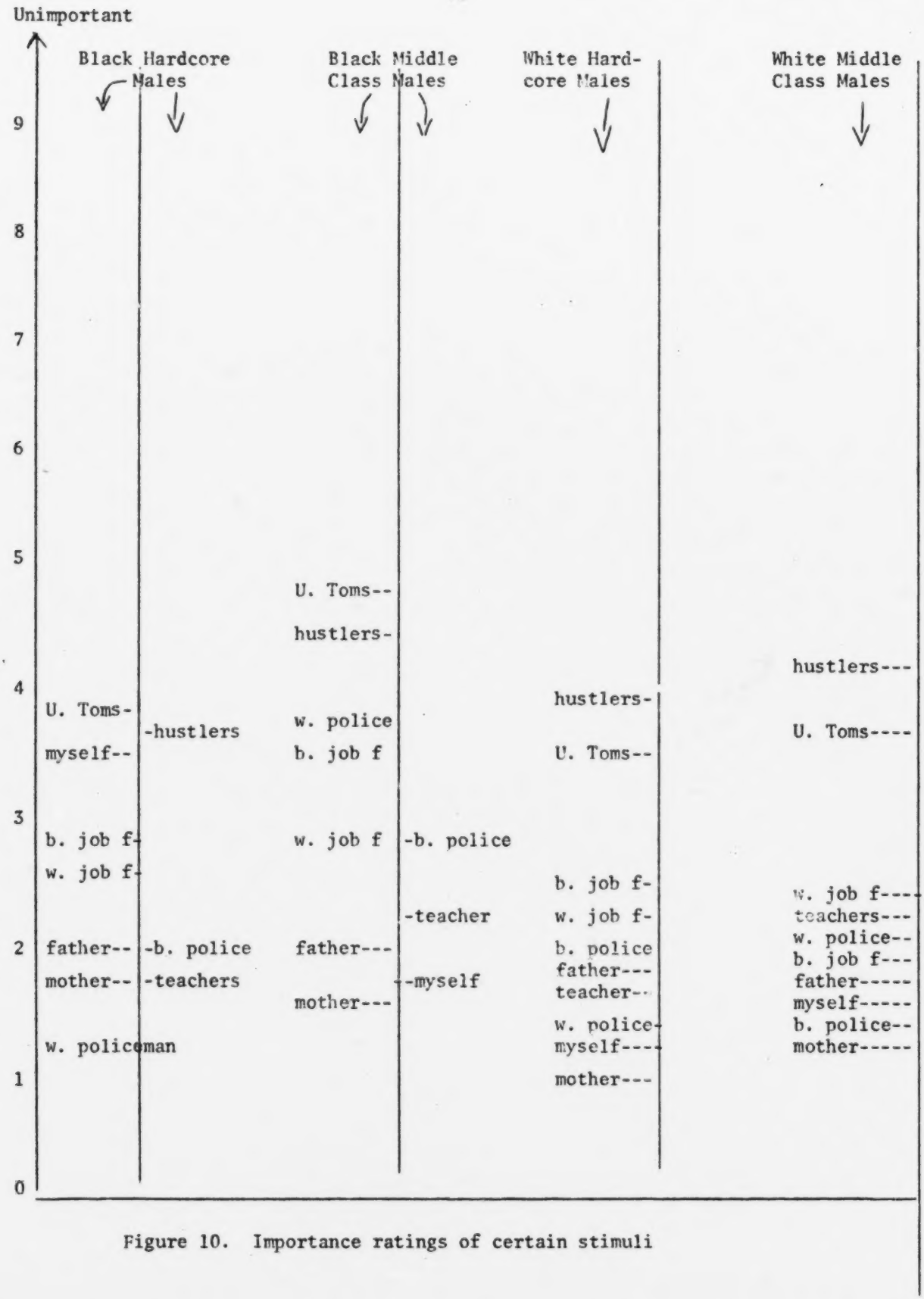


Figure 10. Importance ratings of certain stimuli

We may summarize these observations by saying that in general there were few important differences between the blacks and whites, as such, in person perception. Major differences were obtained between the young hardcore males and other samples. The females and the older samples, or the working-class and middle-class samples do not seem to have the same pattern of responses as the young hardcore males. The black hardcore are unusual primarily because they perceive MYSELF as relatively unimportant, which is not the case with the white hardcore. Thus, while both hardcore samples seem "traumatized," the blacks seem more extremely "traumatized" than the whites.

Role Perceptions

We studied three rather distinct kinds of roles: (a) ingroup roles such as father-son, daughter-mother; (b) work group roles, such as white worker-black worker, white foreman-black worker; and (c) racial conflict roles, such as white cop-black demonstrator.

Plots of these roles on the behavioral dimensions used in the role differential show clearly that these are distinct kinds of roles; in almost all cases the three kinds of roles occupy different regions of the plots.

The behavioral scales formed clusters which included associative behaviors (love, admire), superordinate behaviors (discipline, give orders to), friendship behaviors (work together, treat as a brother, play games with), formal behaviors (call him Mr./her Mrs.) and hostile behaviors (fight with, hit). The plots show very clearly that the behaviors that belong to the same factor are highly correlated, and there are definite paterns of correlation among the factors. Specifically, the work group roles are rated much higher on formal behaviors than either of the other two kinds of roles; there is a weak but dependable relationship between associative and friendship behaviors; there is a negative correlation between superordinate behaviors and friendship behaviors for the black hardcore, but no relationship for the other

samples; there is a definite curvilinear pattern for the associative and the friendship behaviors, with maximum friendship for the work roles, moderately high friendship behaviors but very high association for the ingroup and low on both friendship and association for the interracial conflict roles. Formality is maximal for roles receiving intermediate associative ratings and it is moderate for ingroup and interracial roles, which are, of course, very high or very low on association. Figure 11 shows the curvilinear relationship between love and call him Mr. (Mrs.) as an illustration. Superordinate roles are negatively related to associative roles for the black hardcore but not for the whites, for whom there is no relationship.

A strong and dependable finding is that the black hardcore see the white-black worker role as involving more positive association than the black-white worker role. By contrast, the white middle class see no difference between these two roles on association. Here we have evidence that the black-white hostility is higher than the white-black, in the perceptions of both the blacks and whites. The white middle class seem to be more idealistic in their way of perceiving black and white relationship--that is, they tend to see no differences where none should exist in an ideal society, but the blacks are more realistic in their judgments. On cognitive complexity, however, the whites seem higher with respect to the correlation of the superordination and friendship or association factor, since they see no correlation, while the blacks see a negative correlation. We assume that no correlation means more complexity.

Ingroup Roles

There is a strong tendency for the blacks to see more formality as appropriate in ingroup roles, as indexed by greater likelihood of endorsement of the higher values of the call him Mr. (her Mrs.) scale. This may reflect

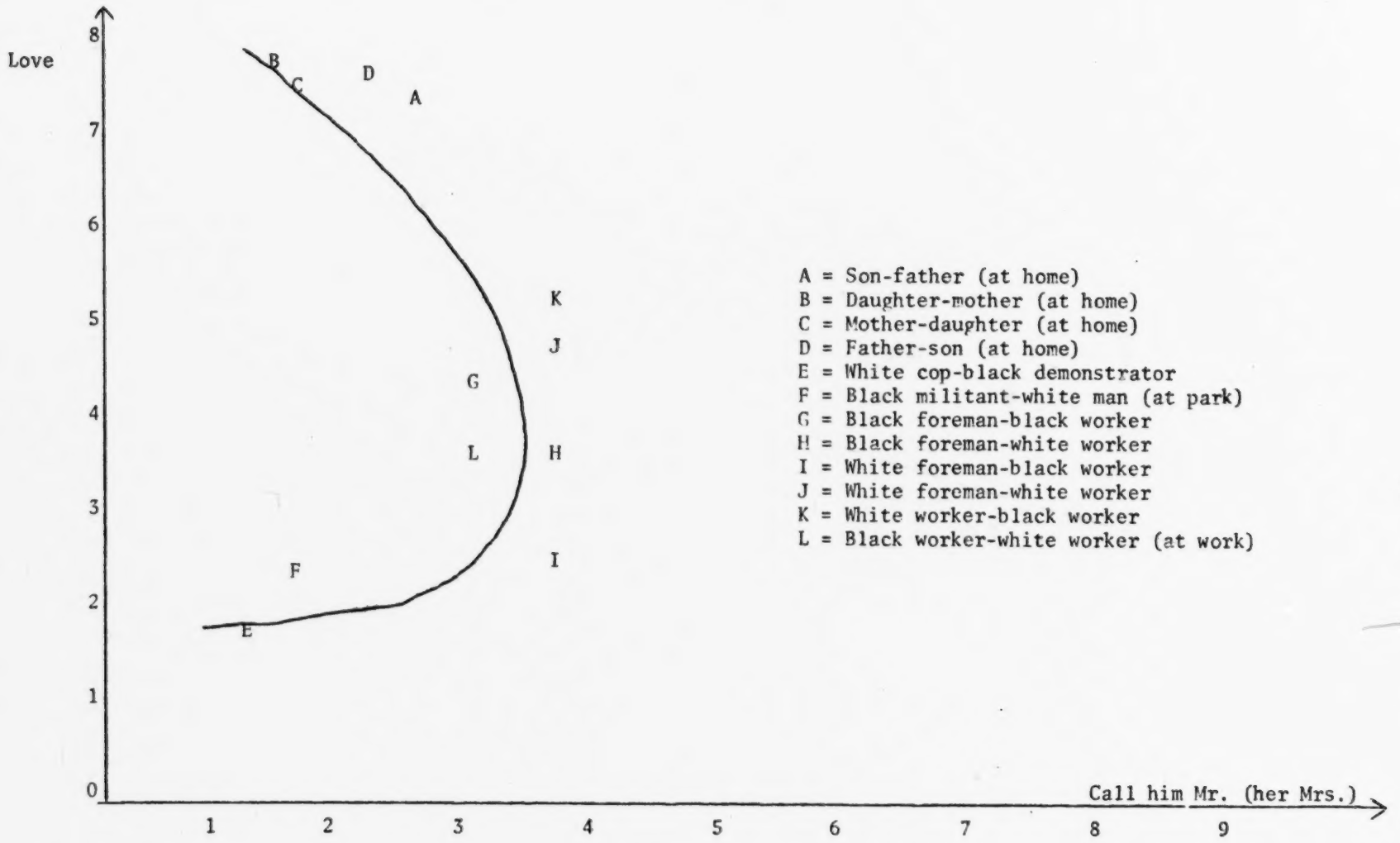


Figure 11. Plot of relationship of love to call him Mr. for black hardcore sample.

relationships with stepfathers, which are often more formal. This trend is found in all four ingroup roles and is always statistically dependable ($p < .0001$). There is also a stronger tendency to admire, and love ingroup members in the black data, when compared with the white. Thus, both on associative and friendship dimensions the blacks are higher than the whites for ingroup roles. Blacks also see more superordination in the daughter-mother role than do other samples, a phenomenon replicated in the new study as strongly as in the earlier.

Whites, as compared with blacks, tend to see more hostility in ingroup relations (fight, hit).

The black high school are somewhat more complex than the black hardcore since they see both formality and superordination as well as hostility as more probable in ingroup roles.

For blacks the higher the social class the less is the hostility and superordination perceived in ingroup roles. Males see more formality in such roles than do females; the younger individuals see more hostility than the older, and the latter see more superordination than the former. The details of these data can be seen in Tables 36, 37, 38 and 39, which show the role perceptions of the 24 samples of the new study concerning these roles.

Work Roles

A major theme that emerges from both the old and the new data is that blacks see white foremen as much more superordinate than do whites. For example, blacks see them as more likely to give orders, and discipline a black worker than do whites. This is particularly striking in the case of the BLACK FOREMAN-BLACK WORKER role who is seen by blacks, when compared with whites, as less likely to give orders. By contrast in the role WHITE FOREMAN-BLACK WORKER the actor is seen by blacks, when compared with whites, as more

Table 36

Role Perceptions of Son-Father (in home) Role Pair

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.1	3.2	4.4	2.4	7.3	6.7	5.2	3.4	3.1	2.3
			35-45	4.7	1.9	3.5	0.8	7.7	6.9	5.1	3.4	1.5	2.3
		Male	18-25	6.4	3.3	5.0	1.9	7.5	6.7	6.4	3.5	2.9	2.7
			35-45	6.3	1.6	5.7	3.6	7.3	5.6	5.0	4.1	1.6	1.8
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.1	3.6	3.2	1.9	7.0	6.6	6.3	3.6	2.8	4.0
			35-45	5.2	1.9	4.2	1.2	7.5	6.9	5.3	4.3	1.8	4.2
		Male	18-25	4.9	2.8	5.0	3.4	8.0	7.4	6.4	2.4	0.6	1.7
			35-45	4.7	2.9	4.9	2.1	6.4	6.4	5.5	4.7	1.7	2.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.8	2.7	4.1	1.5	7.5	7.0	5.7	1.0	0.8	0.6
			35-45	6.1	3.3	3.7	2.6	8.0	7.1	5.7	1.8	0.9	2.9
		Male	18-25	5.4	1.7	4.0	1.0	7.3	7.4	5.2	5.0	0.6	0.8
			35-45	6.6	2.1	1.9	1.9	7.3	7.2	5.9	1.7	0.8	1.1
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.0	4.2	2.9	0.8	7.5	6.7	5.4	1.7	2.4	1.7
			35-45	5.4	2.2	3.5	0.6	8.1	7.4	6.4	0.5	0.8	1.0
		Male	18-25	5.6	2.7	4.1	2.1	7.3	6.4	6.2	4.5	2.2	2.8
			35-45	6.3	2.8	4.3	3.1	6.5	6.7	5.4	4.8	2.0	3.8

Table 36 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
WHITES	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.1	3.4	3.1	0.5	7.4	7.4	5.5	1.2	1.0	1.2
			35-45	5.1	3.1	2.8	1.5	7.6	7.0	4.9	1.2	1.2	1.9
		Male	18-25	3.6	3.4	1.3	0.5	7.2	6.9	4.8	1.2	1.3	1.2
			35-45	6.1	2.7	3.6	3.1	6.8	6.6	5.8	4.2	2.2	3.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.6	4.1	3.9	1.7	7.5	5.5	5.8	0.5	1.3	1.4
			35-45	5.1	3.6	3.0	0.8	5.8	6.2	5.2	1.6	1.8	1.9
		Male	18-25	4.4	4.5	2.3	1.1	5.5	4.5	4.4	1.5	1.8	1.4
			35-45	5.8	3.5	4.2	1.3	6.8	6.4	4.5	1.8	1.0	1.1

1. Main effect for race ($p < .003$) -- Univariate tests indicate that blacks see a son as more likely to treat his father as a brother, call him Mr., and love him than whites do; however, the multivariate tests suggest these effects are due to common variance. Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that blacks see a son as less likely to fight with and more likely to discipline his father than whites do.

2. Main effect for class ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that the working class sees a son as less likely to work together with his father than the hardcore or middle class do; also, there is a linear decrease with increases in social status for a son disciplining, giving orders to, and hitting his father.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .006$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that females see a son as less likely to call his father Mr. or discipline him than males do. In addition, the multivariate tests suggest that for variance unique to the "love" variable, females see a son as more likely to love his father than males do.

Table 36 (continued)

4. Main effect for age ($p < .009$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that younger people see a son as more likely to fight with and less likely to discipline a father than older people do.

5. Race x class interaction ($p < .009$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that white middle class see a son as much less loving of his father than do the other groups and for the variable admire, the blacks see a linear increase in the situation with increases in social status while the white middle class sees a son as much less likely to admire his father than the other groups.

Table 37

Role Perceptions of Daughter-Mother (in house) Role Pair

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.9	2.7	2.5	3.4	6.9	7.4	5.0	3.1	1.4	2.3
			35-45	5.9	1.9	3.0	0.7	7.2	7.4	3.9	4.0	1.0	1.4
		Male	18-25	6.2	2.7	4.1	1.1	7.7	7.6	5.9	3.4	2.3	2.1
			35-45	5.8	1.7	3.9	2.5	7.9	7.5	3.7	3.3	0.5	1.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.0	3.2	1.9	2.7	7.6	7.3	5.5	4.7	2.1	3.3
			35-45	6.4	1.0	3.5	0.4	8.4	7.7	4.0	3.5	0.9	3.0
		Male	18-25	6.6	3.1	3.2	2.0	8.6	8.2	5.5	3.8	1.1	3.0
			35-45	4.9	2.4	3.4	1.7	6.9	7.2	4.3	3.7	1.1	2.5
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.3	2.3	1.8	0.8	7.9	7.0	5.2	1.4	0.5	0.5
			35-45	6.6	2.0	2.7	2.1	8.1	7.5	5.3	1.5	0.5	1.6
		Male	18-25	5.6	2.1	2.6	1.4	8.0	7.1	5.0	1.0	0.4	0.5
			35-45	6.4	1.5	3.3	1.8	7.7	7.6	5.3	1.0	0.6	1.4
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.3	4.3	1.9	1.0	7.5	6.7	5.0	1.1	0.7	0.7
			35-45	6.6	2.3	1.7	0.5	7.4	6.3	4.6	2.5	0.4	1.1
		Male	18-25	6.3	2.7	3.5	1.8	7.3	6.5	5.0	2.0	1.1	2.9
			35-45	6.9	3.2	1.9	2.3	7.3	6.4	5.5	3.7	1.6	3.3

Table 37 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
WHITES	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.6	2.8	2.1	0.2	8.1	7.5	5.1	0.3	2.0	2.0
			35-45	5.3	2.8	1.6	1.1	8.3	7.4	4.4	0.9	0.8	2.0
		Male	18-25	4.9	3.6	0.2	0.2	6.7	7.0	5.1	1.9	0.8	1.0
			35-45	5.9	3.1	2.9	2.3	7.0	6.4	5.3	3.5	1.4	3.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.4	3.8	4.0	0.7	6.9	6.4	5.6	0.4	1.0	1.1
			35-45	5.4	3.8	2.2	0.9	6.6	6.6	5.0	0.8	0.6	1.6
		Male	18-25	6.3	4.1	2.2	0.9	6.5	6.0	4.6	0.8	1.8	1.4
			35-45	6.4	3.0	4.4	0.9	6.9	6.2	4.7	2.7	0.8	2.3

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that blacks see a daughter as less likely to fight with her mother, more likely to call her Mrs., more likely to love her, more likely to admire her and more likely to discipline her than whites see the situation. Also, the multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to the "hit" variable, blacks see the daughter as less likely to hit her mother than the whites do.

2. Main effect for class ($p < .01$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that the middle class see a daughter as less likely to discipline her mother than the working class or hardcore do. Univariate tests indicate that the middle class sees a daughter as less likely to give orders to her mother than the working class or hardcore do; however, the multivariate tests suggest that this effect is due to common variance with discipline.

3. Main effect for age ($p < .007$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that younger people see a daughter as more likely to fight with her mother than older people do. Also, univariate tests indicate that younger people see a daughter as more likely to play games with her mother than older people do; however, the multivariate tests suggest that this is due to common variance with "fight with" variable. Finally, the multivariate tests suggest that for variance unique to the "give orders to" variable, younger people see a daughter

Table 37 (Continued)

as less likely to give orders to her mother than older people do.

4. Race x class interaction ($p < .01$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that for the blacks, with a linear increase in social status there is a linearly perceived increase in a daughter's love for her mother while the same holds true for white hardcore and working class, the mean drops precipitously for white middle class. These tests also indicate that black hardcore and working class and white hardcore see a daughter as more likely to discipline her mother than do the black middle class or the white working and middle class. Univariate tests indicate that the black middle class and white hardcore see a daughter as less likely to hit her mother than the subjects in the other cells and the white and black middle class see a daughter as much less likely to give orders to her mother than the black working class; however, the multivariate tests indicate that these two effects are due to common variance with the "fight with" and "discipline" variables, respectively.

5. Race x sex interaction ($p < .02$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that black females see a daughter as <u>much</u> more likely to discipline a mother than white females while black and white males are intermediate. Also univariate tests suggest that white females see a daughter as <u>much</u> less likely to hit or give orders to a mother than white males do while black males and females are intermediate; however, multivariate tests indicate that these effects are due to common variance with "fight with" and "discipline" variables, respectively. Finally, the multivariate tests confirm that for variance unique to the "love" variable, blacks are much more likely to see love between daughter and mother than whites and that black males are higher than females while white males are much lower than white females.

6. Race x class x age interaction ($p < .04$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that younger black hardcore and working class and older black middle class see a daughter as <u>much</u> more likely to call her mother Mrs. than the younger white working class while everyone else is intermediate. These tests also indicate that young black hardcore and young white working and middle class see a daughter as <u>much</u> more likely to hit her mother than the black middle class do while everyone else is intermediate.

Table 38

Role Pair Perceptions of Mother-Daughter (at home)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.5	2.4	3.3	2.9	7.3	7.2	5.2	5.1	2.7	4.8
			35-45	5.6	1.8	2.7	0.6	7.5	7.7	3.8	5.4	2.4	5.4
		Male	18-25	6.1	2.7	3.9	1.1	7.8	7.1	5.9	6.5	2.7	5.2
			35-45	6.2	0.9	4.1	2.6	7.4	6.5	3.9	6.6	1.9	5.4
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.3	2.8	2.0	2.6	7.7	7.5	5.1	6.6	3.5	6.5
			35-45	7.0	0.9	2.8	0.8	8.7	7.3	4.6	5.0	1.3	6.2
		Male	18-25	7.0	2.0	3.7	1.7	8.7	8.1	5.4	6.0	2.5	5.7
			35-45	5.5	2.1	2.9	1.2	6.9	6.5	4.6	5.8	1.9	5.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.1	2.0	1.7	0.7	8.1	6.8	4.9	6.8	2.8	7.4
			35-45	6.8	2.1	3.0	1.1	8.3	8.2	5.5	6.1	1.7	5.2
		Male	18-25	6.0	2.3	2.9	1.1	7.9	7.6	5.3	7.0	2.0	6.9
			35-45	6.3	1.6	4.0	0.7	7.7	7.2	5.4	5.9	2.6	6.7
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.4	3.7	2.6	0.6	7.8	6.2	4.7	7.0	2.7	6.5
			35-45	6.6	2.0	2.0	0.5	7.6	6.6	4.8	6.8	2.7	7.2
		Male	18-25	6.3	2.1	2.5	2.0	7.6	6.7	5.3	5.4	2.5	5.6
			35-45	7.2	2.6	2.0	2.7	7.5	6.5	5.8	4.9	1.5	4.3

Table 39 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
WHITES	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.6	3.1	2.8	0.6	7.1	6.0	5.3	7.3	2.9	5.2
			35-45	5.0	2.6	2.6	1.3	8.1	7.1	5.2	6.7	3.3	5.6
		Male	18-25	4.4	3.3	1.3	2.0	6.6	5.5	3.8	5.6	4.1	5.3
			35-45	6.1	2.5	3.5	3.5	7.2	6.6	5.7	6.2	2.9	6.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.1	4.2	4.0	0.6	7.0	4.8	5.4	6.3	3.2	6.4
			35-45	5.2	3.3	2.6	0.8	6.7	6.2	5.1	6.3	3.0	5.3
		Male	18-25	4.4	4.3	2.2	0.9	6.2	4.3	4.7	6.5	3.9	7.3
			35-45	5.7	2.5	4.3	0.5	7.4	6.7	4.7	6.7	3.0	6.0

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0003$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that blacks see a father as more likely to treat his son as a brother, less likely to fight with him, and more likely to admire him than whites do. Also univariate tests indicate that blacks see a father as more likely to love and call his son Mr. than whites do; however, the multivariate tests suggest this may be due to common variance with the "treat as a brother" variable.

2. Main effect for sex ($p < .02$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that females see a father as more likely to fight with his son and less likely to call his son Mr. than males do. The multivariate tests also suggest that for variance unique to the "love" variable, females see a father as more likely to love his son than males do.

3. Main effect for age ($p < .006$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that younger people see a father as more likely to fight with his son, less likely to admire him, and more likely to hit him than older people do.

Table 39

Role Pair Perceptions of Father-Son (in home)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Disci-pline	Hit	Give Orders To
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.0	3.2	4.6	2.9	7.5	6.9	5.4	5.2	3.6	5.0
			35-45	4.7	2.0	3.0	0.7	7.6	7.0	3.5	5.7	2.2	5.2
		Male	18-25	5.7	3.2	5.5	2.2	7.9	7.6	6.5	6.1	3.9	4.3
			35-45	6.5	1.1	4.9	2.6	7.3	6.9	4.8	6.9	2.0	6.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.9	3.3	3.3	2.0	7.1	6.5	5.9	5.8	3.8	7.3
			35-45	5.4	1.8	4.2	1.2	7.8	7.2	5.2	6.5	1.6	6.2
		Male	18-25	5.4	1.5	4.2	2.2	7.6	7.5	5.0	5.7	2.4	5.1
			35-45	4.8	1.5	5.2	1.3	6.9	6.4	5.2	6.9	2.5	5.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.9	2.3	4.0	0.6	7.5	6.3	4.8	6.4	2.9	6.7
			35-45	6.4	3.5	4.0	1.9	8.0	7.7	6.1	6.0	2.4	6.4
		Male	18-25	5.6	1.4	4.2	1.2	7.7	7.1	5.0	5.4	3.0	5.9
			35-45	6.1	2.0	2.4	0.9	7.7	7.7	6.1	6.9	2.9	6.3
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.7	4.0	2.7	1.0	7.8	6.4	5.3	7.0	3.8	6.8
			35-45	6.1	1.9	2.7	0.4	7.6	7.0	6.1	5.9	2.2	6.9
		Male	18-25	5.5	2.7	4.4	1.8	6.9	6.7	6.0	5.9	3.3	5.6
			35-45	6.3	2.3	4.5	2.3	7.2	6.6	5.8	4.7	1.8	5.4

Table 38 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
WHITES	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.5	3.1	1.9	0.5	7.7	5.6	4.9	6.7	2.1	6.5
			35-45	5.4	2.8	1.2	1.4	8.5	7.3	4.5	6.4	2.2	5.4
		Male	18-25	5.1	3.5	0.3	0.3	7.4	5.5	4.3	5.6	3.1	4.5
			35-45	5.2	2.9	3.2	1.5	7.4	6.8	5.5	5.5	2.4	5.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.6	3.1	4.0	0.6	7.1	5.9	5.9	5.5	2.4	6.6
			35-45	5.6	3.6	1.4	0.5	7.3	6.6	5.1	6.0	2.8	5.0
		Male	18-25	5.9	4.3	1.9	0.6	6.7	5.1	4.3	6.0	3.4	6.9
			35-45	6.2	2.8	4.5	0.6	7.8	6.9	4.8	6.8	1.9	5.7

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate blacks see a mother as less likely to fight with her daughter, more likely to admire and treat her as a brother than whites do.

Table 39 (continued)

4. Race x age interaction ($p < .03$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that younger blacks see a father as much more likely to call his son Mr. than younger whites, while older blacks and whites are intermediate and have nearly identical means. Also the multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to the "discipline" variable, older blacks and younger whites see a father as much more likely to discipline his son than younger blacks while older whites are intermediate.

5. Class x age interaction ($p < .02$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that hardcore young see a father as more likely to admire his son than older hardcore, while young middle class see a father as less likely to admire his son than do the older middle class and the working class is intermediate with its means in the same direction as the middle class. Also, the multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to the "give orders to" variable, the younger hardcore see a father as much less likely to give orders to his son than younger middle class, while all the other cells are intermediate and equal.

likely to give orders. The pattern is replicated further with the blacks seeing the WHITE FOREMAN as less likely to give orders to a WHITE WORKER, and the BLACK FOREMAN as also less likely to give orders to a WHITE WORKER.

Since the black hardcore see a negative correlation between superordination and friendship, this implies considerable preference for the black foreman.

The blacks see a definite favoritism of white foremen for white workers, in both the old and the new data. This is not as strong an effect in the case of the whites. In the old data the blacks see white to white relationships as involving more associative and friendship behaviors and formality than is the case for whites. Most of these effects are highly reliable ($p < .001$). In the new data we find the blacks seeing greater love by BLACK FOREMEN for both black and white workers, as well as a tendency to respect and admire and be friendly across racial lines, in the case of such foremen. By contrast the blacks see WHITE FOREMEN trusting, loving and respecting only white workers, and being more superordinate and less friendly with black workers.

Another notable phenomenon is that the blacks see less predisposition in black workers to work well with white workers and more predisposition of white workers to work well with black workers than is the case with the white samples. For example, the blacks see a black worker as less likely to work with and as more superordinate and formal in his relationship to white workers than do the whites ($p < .03$).

There were also some highly reliable effects due to social class, sex and age. The hardcore saw less friendship and superordination and more associative tendencies in work settings than was the case with the middle case. This may indicate that the middle class were more realistic. Work

situations typically involve friendship behaviors, such as work well with, treat as a brother, but do not involve love or admiration; on the other hand, work settings often involve much superordination. In short, the middle and working class, because of their experience in work settings have a clearer view of both what happens and what does not happen; by contrast the hardcore indicates that rare events are more likely to happen, and frequent events are less likely to happen than is the case with the other classes, suggesting a lack of understanding of the basic social features of the work situation. This pattern is exactly as one might expect, which shows that the data are valid. It should also be mentioned that the pattern is identical to the pattern obtained in the old study, where the hardcore employed the middle positions of the scales much more frequently, while the other samples used a definite pattern (high or low) for their responses. The validity of the data in the present instance increases support for the hypothesis that the hardcore do in fact have a less definite patterning of connections between events, seeing rare events as more likely and frequent events as less likely than do other samples.

Females in our data seem to see less likelihood of playing games, and hitting in work settings than do males. This may also be realistic, since in many male work settings playful hitting and teasing is typical, while in equivalent female settings such exchanges are likely to be verbal rather than physical. Finally, the young see more overt hostility, more play and more friendship in work settings than do the old. For example, the young samples see the white-black worker role as involving more fighting, a greater likelihood to treat as a brother, and less likelihood to give orders than do the older samples ($p < .006$).

The details of these major trends can be seen in Tables 40-45 and the accompanying footnotes.

Table 40

Role Pair Perceptions for Black Foreman-Black Worker (work)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.3	3.1	5.7	4.9	3.9	4.7	3.2	4.7	2.5	5.0
			35-45	3.8	2.4	3.2	2.9	2.7	3.1	2.7	4.4	1.4	6.6
		Male	18-25	5.4	2.8	5.3	3.2	4.1	4.3	3.6	5.2	2.0	6.3
			35-45	4.2	1.7	5.5	3.5	5.3	4.4	3.9	5.2	1.9	5.4
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.1	2.8	4.6	3.9	3.3	3.9	3.8	5.0	1.8	6.1
			35-45	5.9	1.9	3.3	2.9	2.5	3.6	3.5	3.7	0.3	6.7
		Male	18-25	5.5	5.2	5.2	3.2	3.3	3.7	6.5	5.2	2.2	6.6
			35-45	3.8	2.4	4.0	3.2	3.4	3.7	4.6	4.5	1.4	6.5
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.4	3.3	4.2	3.4	2.6	3.7	4.5	5.9	1.3	7.3
			35-45	5.5	3.2	3.9	3.9	4.0	3.9	4.8	4.9	0.9	7.9
		Male	18-25	5.6	2.1	5.6	3.2	3.7	4.3	5.8	4.2	0.8	7.5
			35-45	4.4	2.9	3.3	3.5	2.0	3.8	4.5	5.4	2.0	7.2
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.1	2.6	4.5	2.0	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.9	1.0	7.6
			35-45	5.0	2.0	4.5	3.1	2.9	4.4	3.6	5.0	0.5	8.3
		Male	18-25	5.8	2.6	4.6	3.5	3.1	3.8	4.2	2.9	1.9	5.8
			35-45	7.2	2.4	5.2	3.6	3.8	5.1	4.1	3.4	1.7	6.0

Table 40 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
WHITES	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.0	2.2	4.2	3.5	2.6	3.5	4.8	5.5	0.4	8.2
			35-45	6.7	2.7	4.1	3.5	2.4	3.3	4.2	4.9	1.2	7.5
		Male	18-25	5.0	1.8	4.8	3.8	1.6	3.6	3.4	4.0	0.7	5.6
			35-45	5.5	2.5	3.8	4.0	3.0	3.5	4.1	5.1	1.6	6.7
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.8	2.9	5.1	2.5	3.8	3.9	4.8	4.1	1.7	7.7
			35-45	5.7	2.7	4.5	3.3	2.9	3.3	4.6	4.7	1.1	7.5
		Male	18-25	5.7	2.7	5.6	2.7	2.1	3.5	4.5	5.3	2.2	7.9
			35-45	6.7	2.2	3.3	2.3	2.6	3.3	4.7	5.8	0.9	8.1

1. Main effect for race ($p < .03$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that blacks see black foremen as less likely to work together with, less likely to give orders to and more likely to love a black worker than whites do.

2. Main effect for class ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that hardcore see black foremen as more likely to love black workers than the working or middle class do. They also confirm that the hardcore see the black foremen as less likely to play games with and give orders to than the working class who see black foremen as less likely to play games with or give orders to a black worker than the middle class do. Finally, multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to the "hit" variable, the working class sees black foreman as less likely to "hit" a black worker than the middle class who see black foremen as less likely to hit the black worker than the hardcore do.

3. Main effect for age ($p < .01$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that younger people see black foremen as more likely to fight with, treat as a brother, and love a black worker than older people are.

Table 40 (Continued)

4. Race x sex interaction ($p < .05$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests indicate that black females see black foremen as much more likely to play games with a black worker than black males do, while white females and males are intermediate. The same tests also indicate that white females are much more likely to see black foremen as giving orders to black men than white males or blacks.

5. Race x sex x age interaction ($p < .03$) -- None of the univariate tests are significant. The multivariate tests suggest that for variance unique to the "call him Mr." variable, young black females see a black foreman as much more likely to call a black worker Mr. than do young white females while everyone else is intermediate. They also suggest that for variance unique to the "love" variable, young black males see a black foreman as much more likely to love a black worker than older white females while every other cell is intermediate. Finally, the multivariate tests indicate that older black females and younger white females see black foremen as much less likely to hit a black worker than subjects in the other cells.

Table 41

Role-Pair Perceptions for Black Foreman-White Worker (work)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.0	3.1	3.3	3.6	2.7	3.4	2.2	4.8	2.6	5.8
			35-45	3.3	2.6	2.1	2.7	1.9	2.8	2.1	4.4	1.4	7.1
		Male	18-25	5.2	2.4	4.2	4.0	3.7	4.1	4.0	5.4	2.1	6.6
			35-45	4.3	1.4	4.4	3.9	3.8	4.5	4.9	3.7	1.8	5.3
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.0	1.9	2.7	4.3	2.8	2.7	2.7	4.4	1.4	5.1
			35-45	5.1	1.5	3.1	3.5	2.2	3.9	3.1	4.2	0.7	6.5
		Male	18-25	6.3	3.3	4.1	4.5	2.8	3.8	4.8	4.7	1.5	6.0
			35-45	3.8	2.0	4.2	4.3	3.6	4.8	4.3	4.1	1.8	7.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.3	2.5	3.0	3.6	2.3	3.5	3.6	5.3	1.2	7.2
			35-45	5.2	2.7	2.6	4.3	2.8	3.5	3.8	4.8	0.9	7.5
		Male	18-25	3.6	2.5	2.3	3.1	1.8	2.2	2.8	4.0	0.6	6.8
			35-45	5.0	2.4	2.7	4.1	1.1	3.1	3.5	4.0	0.9	6.6
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.1	2.5	2.6	2.2	2.7	2.8	2.7	4.5	1.3	7.6
			35-45	4.7	2.0	2.8	3.0	2.8	4.0	3.0	5.0	0.4	8.0
		Male	18-25	5.2	2.7	2.9	3.4	2.6	2.9	3.4	3.7	1.8	5.6
			35-45	6.0	2.3	3.1	4.1	1.9	2.8	3.5	4.0	2.0	6.4

Table 41 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
WHITES	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.3	2.8	2.4	3.3	1.5	2.7	2.3	6.2	1.0	3.2
			35-45	6.0	2.0	2.7	3.2	2.2	3.6	2.8	4.2	1.0	7.3
		Male	18-25	4.6	3.0	3.5	4.0	1.7	3.1	2.7	4.8	0.9	6.7
			35-45	4.6	2.5	2.7	3.7	2.8	3.3	3.2	5.1	1.6	6.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.4	3.0	2.8	2.9	2.5	3.2	3.8	4.0	1.7	7.7
			35-45	5.7	2.3	3.0	2.9	2.2	2.9	2.7	4.4	1.1	7.3
		Male	18-25	4.8	2.5	2.9	3.3	1.2	2.3	2.6	5.0	1.8	7.6
			35-45	6.3	2.1	2.2	2.2	1.9	2.8	2.5	5.9	0.4	8.1

1. Main effect for race ($p < .02$) -- Univariate tests indicate that blacks are more likely to see black foremen calling a white worker Mr., loving him, admire him, and play games with him than whites are; however, the multivariate tests suggest that these multiple effects are due to common variance. Both univariate and multivariate tests confirm that blacks are less likely to see black foremen as giving orders to a white worker than whites are. Finally, multivariate tests indicate that for variance specific to the "treat as a brother" variable, blacks are more likely to see a black foreman as treating a white worker as a brother than whites are.

2. Main effect for class ($p < .05$) -- Univariate tests and multivariate tests indicate that the middle class is more likely to see a black foreman as loving and yet giving orders to a white worker than the hardcore or working class are. These tests also confirm that the hardcore is more likely to see the black foreman as hitting the white man than the working or middle class are.

Table 41 (Continued)

3. Class x sex interaction ($p < .03$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that hardcore females and working and middle-class males see a black foreman as more likely to work together than hardcore males and working and middle-class females. Also, univariate tests indicate that all females see approximately the same amount of love in the relationship, but that males see a linear decrease in love with increases in social status and females see a linear increase in "hitting" with increases in social status while males see a linear decrease with increases in social class; however, multivariate tests indicate these dual effects are due to common variance with some other variable.

Table 42

Role Pair Perceptions for White Foreman-Black Worker (Work)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.5	3.2	3.0	4.4	2.5	4.3	2.1	4.4	2.5	5.3
			35-45	3.8	1.9	2.1	2.7	1.8	2.9	1.9	3.8	1.9	7.8
		Male	18-25	5.8	3.1	3.2	3.9	2.5	3.1	2.1	5.3	1.3	6.0
			35-45	4.2	2.3	4.0	4.2	2.7	3.3	3.7	4.2	1.7	5.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.8	2.0	3.0	4.3	1.8	2.9	2.4	4.7	1.2	6.5
			35-45	5.1	1.8	3.2	3.5	2.5	4.5	2.2	3.2	0.5	6.7
		Male	18-25	5.4	3.4	2.2	3.0	1.8	2.3	4.2	5.2	1.8	6.5
			35-45	4.4	2.4	2.5	4.2	3.1	4.2	3.7	5.1	1.1	7.4
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.4	2.9	2.6	3.4	1.8	2.9	2.8	6.0	1.2	7.6
			35-45	3.9	3.6	1.9	2.4	1.8	2.1	3.6	5.8	2.3	8.5
		Male	18-25	4.5	2.4	2.8	3.7	2.6	3.1	3.5	3.9	1.1	7.6
			35-45	4.5	2.6	1.6	3.3	0.8	3.4	2.9	5.2	1.7	8.0
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.4	2.7	2.4	2.2	2.9	3.0	2.6	3.6	1.6	7.7
			35-45	4.9	2.3	3.1	3.5	2.8	3.7	3.1	5.5	0.4	8.3
		Male	18-25	5.0	2.9	3.2	3.1	2.2	3.1	3.3	3.9	2.0	6.2
			35-45	6.1	2.4	3.6	3.3	1.8	3.4	4.0	3.4	1.6	5.8

Table 42 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
WHITES	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.4	2.2	2.1	3.4	1.5	2.6	2.7	5.2	1.0	8.1
			35-45	6.8	2.4	3.2	3.4	2.1	2.9	3.2	4.3	0.5	7.9
		Male	18-25	4.8	2.4	3.0	2.7	1.3	2.7	2.7	4.4	0.8	7.1
			35-45	5.5	2.6	2.9	3.5	2.2	3.0	3.3	4.8	1.7	6.6
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.4	3.5	2.5	2.3	2.0	2.4	3.4	4.9	1.9	7.9
			35-45	5.7	2.7	2.9	3.1	1.7	2.7	2.6	5.1	0.4	7.9
		Male	18-25	4.5	4.0	2.7	2.6	1.0	2.7	2.9	5.3	2.8	8.1
			35-45	6.1	1.9	2.6	3.0	2.1	2.8	2.9	5.5	0.5	8.3

1. Main effect for race ($p < .03$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that blacks see a white foreman as less likely to work together with a black worker, but more likely to call him Mr. than whites do. Also, multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to the "give orders to" variable, blacks see a white foreman as more likely to give orders to a black worker than whites do.

2. Main effect for class ($p < .002$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that the middle class sees a white foreman as more likely to fight with, discipline, and give orders to a black worker than the hardcore and working class do. Finally, univariate tests indicate that the middle class sees a white foreman as less likely to love and admire a black worker than do the working class who see the white foreman as less likely to love and admire the black worker than do the hardcore; however, the multivariate tests indicate that this dual effect is due to common variance with another variable (could be it's the "work together" variable which was not significant).

Table 42 (Continued)

3. Race x age interaction ($p < .02$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that young blacks see a white foreman as much less likely to work together with a black worker than older whites do, while older blacks and younger whites are intermediate. These tests also indicate that older whites see a white foreman as much less likely to hit a black worker than the other three groups.

4. Race x class x age interaction ($p < .02$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that older black middle class and older white working class see white foremen as more likely to fight with black workers than their younger counterparts while the direction is reversed in the other cells (i.e., younger see higher likelihood of fighting than older). These tests also indicate that the younger black working class see a white foreman as much less likely to admire a black worker than older white hardcore do and young and old white working, hardcore and middle class tend in this direction while the younger and older black hardcore and middle class significantly reverse this trend. Finally, these tests indicate that younger black middle class and white working class see white foremen as much less likely to hit a black worker while the pattern is reversed in the other cells.

Table 43

Role Pair Perceptions for White Foreman-White Worker (work)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.0	2.5	5.8	5.3	4.7	5.6	4.0	4.5	1.2	5.1
			35-45	4.5	2.2	4.2	3.8	4.0	4.3	3.3	4.2	1.2	6.9
		Male	18-25	5.9	2.2	4.7	4.2	5.0	5.1	4.6	5.5	1.9	5.6
			35-45	4.9	1.2	5.6	3.8	5.1	5.4	4.6	4.4	1.3	5.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.7	1.6	5.6	4.5	4.0	3.9	3.9	3.8	1.5	6.2
			35-45	5.3	2.1	3.5	3.8	2.9	4.4	3.7	3.2	0.6	6.6
		Male	18-25	7.9	3.2	6.7	4.1	4.3	4.8	6.6	5.1	1.5	5.2
			35-45	4.9	2.1	5.1	4.5	3.1	5.1	4.8	4.7	1.1	6.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.9	2.3	4.4	4.1	2.7	4.1	4.5	4.4	0.8	6.7
			35-45	5.3	2.5	4.9	3.8	3.8	4.7	4.9	4.2	1.3	7.3
		Male	18-25	5.2	2.0	4.3	3.8	2.6	4.4	5.9	3.8	1.4	6.6
			35-45	5.1	2.1	3.3	3.0	2.0	3.9	4.0	4.2	1.2	7.2
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.0	2.8	4.0	2.2	3.2	3.5	3.3	4.5	1.4	7.6
			35-45	5.2	1.7	3.6	3.0	2.9	3.9	3.1	5.6	0.4	8.2
		Male	18-25	6.1	2.8	3.4	3.4	2.7	3.0	3.8	3.8	1.6	6.3
			35-45	6.7	2.2	4.1	4.2	2.7	4.1	4.7	3.7	1.5	6.1

Table 43 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As A Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
WHITES	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.1	2.4	3.9	3.9	2.4	2.9	3.3	5.4	0.4	8.3
			35-45	7.3	1.9	3.1	3.3	2.2	3.5	3.4	5.0	0.5	7.9
		Male	18-25	5.4	2.3	3.6	3.1	1.1	3.5	3.3	5.1	0.7	7.7
			35-45	6.3	2.6	3.3	3.9	2.6	3.4	3.6	4.5	1.5	6.5
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.1	2.9	4.1	3.1	3.6	3.6	4.5	4.4	1.4	7.8
			35-45	6.5	2.6	3.6	3.3	2.5	3.0	3.7	4.7	1.1	8.0
		Male	18-25	5.6	2.8	4.4	3.0	2.1	3.5	4.2	5.1	2.1	7.8
			35-45	6.7	1.9	3.0	2.9	2.4	3.2	4.2	5.0	0.4	8.1

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that blacks see a white foreman as more likely to treat a white worker as a brother, call him Mr., love him, admire him, and less likely to give orders to him than whites do. Also, univariate tests indicate that blacks see a white foreman as more likely to play games with a white worker than whites do; however, multivariate tests suggest that this effect is due to common variance with the earlier mentioned variables.

2. Main effect for class ($p < .0009$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that the hardcore see a white foreman as more likely to love a white worker than the working and middle class do, while the middle class see a white foreman as more likely to play games with a white worker than the working class or hardcore. Finally, these tests indicate that the hardcore see white foreman as less likely to give orders to a white worker than the working class who see this situation as less likely than the middle class does.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .01$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that males see white foremen as more likely to play games with and hit a white worker and less likely to give orders to a white worker than females see them.

4. Race x age interaction ($p < .03$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that young blacks see a white foreman as more likely to work together with a white worker than older blacks do while this linear decrease is exactly reversed for white young and old.

Table 44

Role Pair Perceptions for White Worker-Black Worker (work)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As a Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.0	3.2	5.9	4.2	5.0	5.2	4.2	2.9	2.7	2.3
			35-45	6.6	2.5	4.7	3.3	3.7	3.8	3.5	2.7	1.5	4.0
		Male	18-25	6.8	2.8	4.9	4.1	4.4	5.4	5.3	4.8	2.5	2.2
			35-45	6.5	2.0	5.6	3.8	5.8	5.9	5.4	3.7	1.5	2.3
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.7	2.8	5.6	2.8	4.1	4.4	5.5	2.8	1.7	2.7
			35-45	6.2	1.6	3.7	3.1	2.8	4.1	4.0	2.7	0.5	3.4
		Male	18-25	7.6	4.2	5.6	3.5	4.3	4.7	6.8	3.2	1.6	3.9
			35-45	5.5	3.3	4.1	3.8	3.9	4.8	5.2	3.8	1.6	3.7
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.6	1.9	5.6	2.9	3.3	4.4	5.0	2.1	1.2	2.4
			35-45	7.1	2.6	5.9	3.4	3.4	4.3	4.7	1.9	1.1	3.2
		Male	18-25	6.1	1.8	5.4	2.4	3.8	4.4	6.1	2.9	1.7	2.8
			35-45	6.3	1.9	4.3	3.0	2.9	3.9	5.3	2.4	1.3	2.9
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.8	2.5	3.4	1.1	2.9	2.9	4.6	1.8	1.7	2.0
			35-45	6.0	1.9	3.4	2.0	2.7	3.8	3.3	2.0	0.7	3.6
		Male	18-25	6.2	2.9	3.5	3.3	2.7	3.0	4.1	2.1	2.1	2.3
			35-45	7.1	1.7	3.7	3.3	3.1	3.6	4.7	3.0	1.4	3.3

Table 44 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As a Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
WHITES	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.8	2.5	4.7	3.3	2.8	3.6	4.9	2.8	0.6	2.4
			35-45	6.5	2.3	3.2	3.2	2.2	3.1	3.8	2.5	1.9	2.8
		Male	18-25	6.2	2.8	3.5	2.7	1.4	3.9	4.3	2.0	1.2	2.2
			35-45	5.6	2.9	3.0	3.4	2.8	3.0	4.9	3.1	2.0	3.4
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.0	2.4	4.4	2.2	3.7	4.1	5.2	1.4	1.6	1.7
			35-45	6.5	2.6	3.8	2.4	2.6	3.2	4.4	2.2	1.2	2.0
		Male	18-25	6.8	2.6	3.9	3.0	2.1	3.7	6.3	2.1	2.2	2.2
			35-45	7.4	2.4	2.9	2.5	2.7	4.1	4.7	2.5	1.4	2.6

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate tests indicate that blacks see a white worker as more likely to treat a black worker as a brother, call him Mr., love him, admire him and discipline him than whites do; however, the multivariate tests indicate these multiple effects are due to common variance.

2. Main effect for class ($p < .01$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that the hardcore see a white worker as more likely to love a black worker, but less likely to play games with him than the working or middle class do. Also, the multivariate tests suggest that for variance unique to the "hit" variable, the hardcore sees the white worker as more likely to hit the black worker than do the working or middle class.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .0002$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that females see a white worker as less likely to play games with and discipline a black worker than males do. Also, the multivariate tests suggest that for variance unique to the "admire" variable, females see a white worker as less likely to admire the black worker than the males do.

4. Main effect for age ($p < .006$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that younger people see a white worker as more likely to treat a black worker as a brother, and less likely to give orders to him than older people do. Univariate tests indicate that younger people see a white worker as more likely to play games with and to hit a black worker than older people do; however, the multivariate tests suggest this dual effect is due to common variance with other variables (such as "treat as a brother" and "fight with", respectively.) Finally, the multivariate tests confirm that for variance unique to "fight with" variable, younger people see a white worker as more likely to fight with a black worker than older people do.

5. Race x class interaction ($p < .009$) -- There are no univariate effects although some are close. The multivariate tests confirm that for variance unique to the "love" and "give orders to" variables, blacks see a white worker as showing a linear decrease in love for the black worker with an increase in the black's social status while whites see equal amounts of love regardless of status; however, for the "give orders to" variable the pattern is for the black working class to see the white worker as much more likely to give orders to a black worker than the white middle class while the others are intermediate in their judgments.

Table 45

Role Pair Perceptions for Black Worker-White Worker (work)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As a Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.8	3.5	2.8	3.5	2.8	2.7	2.6	2.2	2.1	2.7
			35-45	4.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	3.1	2.2	2.4	1.4	4.6
		Male	18-25	6.4	2.6	3.9	3.4	3.3	4.8	3.8	4.4	2.5	2.7
			35-45	5.8	1.8	4.9	3.3	4.0	4.6	4.4	3.9	1.6	2.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.3	3.4	2.5	2.5	2.3	3.1	2.8	2.8	2.2	3.0
			35-45	6.8	1.8	3.3	2.8	2.3	3.7	3.2	3.5	0.4	2.7
		Male	18-25	5.8	3.7	3.7	2.9	2.4	3.5	5.5	3.0	2.8	3.1
			35-45	4.8	2.3	3.5	3.8	3.1	4.0	4.7	3.7	1.9	4.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.0	2.1	3.1	3.3	2.8	3.8	4.0	2.6	1.0	2.4
			35-45	6.3	2.9	3.2	2.9	2.3	3.5	3.5	1.8	1.5	2.5
		Male	18-25	4.3	2.3	2.7	1.8	1.8	2.4	4.3	1.9	1.7	3.1
			35-45	5.8	2.2	2.5	2.7	1.5	3.5	3.5	1.8	1.7	2.5
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.6	2.7	3.2	1.9	2.3	2.9	4.7	1.0	1.5	1.5
			35-45	6.0	2.3	3.0	2.0	2.5	4.0	3.2	2.4	0.7	3.2
		Male	18-25	5.5	2.6	3.3	2.9	3.0	3.1	3.6	2.0	2.1	2.5
			35-45	6.4	2.7	2.8	2.4	2.3	3.1	3.7	2.2	2.1	3.8

Table 45 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As a Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
WHITES	Working Class	Females	18-25	6.3	3.0	3.0	2.5	1.7	3.1	3.7	2.4	0.7	3.6
			35-45	6.5	2.1	2.8	2.4	2.3	2.6	3.2	2.3	1.4	2.2
		Male	18-25	6.3	2.3	2.8	2.5	0.9	3.0	3.7	1.1	0.8	1.9
			35-45	5.6	2.8	2.8	2.5	1.9	3.0	3.4	2.6	2.1	2.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.5	3.3	3.0	2.2	3.0	3.8	4.2	1.0	1.9	1.0
			35-45	6.0	3.1	3.1	2.1	2.6	3.0	3.0	1.6	1.4	1.5
		Male	18-25	6.7	3.2	3.4	2.6	1.9	3.7	4.6	1.7	2.3	1.8
			35-45	6.4	2.1	3.0	3.0	2.8	3.4	3.7	2.8	1.6	2.5

1. Main effect for race ($p < .03$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that blacks see a black worker as less likely to work together with a white worker and more likely to discipline him than whites do. Univariate tests indicate that blacks see a black worker as more likely to call the white worker Mr., and give orders to the white worker; however, the multivariate tests suggest that these two effects are due to common variance with the "work together" and "discipline" variables respectively.

2. Main effect for sex ($p < .002$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that females see a black worker as less likely to play games with and hit a white worker than males do.

3. Main effect for age ($p < .05$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that younger people see a black worker as more likely to fight with and play games with a white worker than older people do.

Table 45 (Continued)

4. Race x class x sex interaction ($p < .03$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that hardcore black and middle-class white females see a black worker as less likely to work together with a white worker than hardcore black males and middle-class white males, while this trend is reversed for the other groups (i.e., female > male for other race x class groups). These tests also indicate that hardcore black females and middle-class black males and white working-class females see a black worker as much less likely to admire a white worker than subjects in the remaining cells do. Finally, these tests confirm that white middle-class females see a black worker as much, much less likely to give orders to a white worker as black hardcore females and working-class males, while the other cells are intermediate.

Interracial Conflict Roles

The major factor used by the samples to respond to these roles involves aggression (hit, fight with) and superordination (order to do something, discipline). In the old study the black high school subjects saw more aggression and superordination in the white cop-black demonstrator role than did the black hardcore ($p < .003$). In the new study the young and the working class samples show the same tendencies as the black high school sample relative to the old and middle class. Turning to the black militant-white man role, the blacks of the old study tended to see more aggression and superordination in this role ($p < .06$) than did the whites. In the new study we obtained no race effect, although the young, the black middle class and white working class had a strong tendency to see more aggression and superordination in that role.

It is fair to conclude that there is no reliable race effect here. The major differences seem to be related to age (the young see more aggression than the old) and social class (the working class see more aggression than the other two classes).

Details can be seen in Tables 46 and 47 and the accompanying footnotes.

Discussion of Role Perceptions

The previous study found that the "problem black" sample saw ingroup roles with considerable ambivalence. This was not observed in the present study, which included a broader sample of blacks. While the blacks in the present study do show more formality in such roles, the trend concerning hostility is actually reversed, with whites seeing greater likelihood of fighting and hitting in ingroup roles than do the blacks. The explanation for this discrepancy can be found in the reliable tendency for blacks to see less hostility in ingroup roles the higher their social class. In the

Table 46

Role Pair Perceptions for Black Militant-White Man (park)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As a Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	3.4	4.7	3.1	3.2	2.3	2.3	2.1	3.0	3.4	4.0
			35-45	1.2	3.6	1.2	1.0	1.5	1.1	1.2	2.0	2.9	3.9
		Male	18-25	1.5	4.6	1.5	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.4	3.7	5.0	5.5
			35-45	4.0	2.2	3.1	3.0	3.5	2.8	2.3	3.7	2.2	3.1
	Working Class	Female	18-25	1.1	6.0	1.0	1.3	0.9	0.3	0.5	2.5	4.7	3.9
			35-45	2.6	4.3	1.2	1.8	1.2	1.6	1.3	3.7	3.8	4.4
		Male	18-25	1.0	6.8	1.5	2.3	1.3	1.7	1.4	4.2	6.0	5.6
			35-45	2.7	4.9	2.2	3.1	1.9	3.5	3.4	5.6	3.5	4.1
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	1.5	4.2	1.4	1.9	1.4	1.2	1.2	2.9	3.4	3.3
			35-45	1.7	4.2	1.8	1.9	1.4	1.5	1.6	2.3	3.8	4.7
		Male	18-25	1.3	5.5	0.9	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.7	2.4	3.9	3.2
			35-45	2.4	4.7	2.0	2.5	1.7	2.1	1.9	1.5	3.2	3.8
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	1.6	5.0	1.8	1.1	0.9	0.6	1.2	2.0	3.0	2.8
			35-45	1.2	3.6	2.0	1.3	1.8	1.8	0.6	2.7	2.8	3.7
		Male	18-25	3.2	3.7	2.3	2.2	1.7	2.0	1.8	2.3	3.2	3.8
			35-45	2.2	3.2	1.7	1.6	0.9	1.6	2.8	2.5	2.8	4.2

Table 46 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As a Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
WHITES	Working Class	Female	18-25	1.1	4.4	1.7	2.5	1.6	2.1	1.8	4.3	4.9	5.3
			35-45	2.7	4.5	1.3	1.7	1.6	1.5	2.0	3.4	3.8	4.1
		Male	18-25	1.6	4.1	1.2	2.0	0.9	1.8	1.2	1.9	4.0	3.9
			35-45	1.6	4.0	2.0	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.3	2.4	3.5	4.6
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	2.4	4.8	2.1	1.7	1.4	1.8	1.4	3.2	4.0	3.9
			35-45	1.6	4.0	1.6	1.7	1.1	1.6	1.1	1.6	3.2	3.5
		Male	18-25	2.6	3.7	3.0	2.3	2.1	1.9	2.1	2.9	3.2	3.6
			35-45	2.0	4.1	1.3	1.0	1.1	1.2	0.9	2.7	3.0	4.7

1. Main effect for class ($p < .02$) -- Univariate tests indicate that the working class sees the black militant as more likely to fight with and hit the white man than the middle class who see the black militant as more likely to fight with and hit the white man than the hardcore; however, the multivariate tests suggest the dual effect is due to common variance. In addition, both univariate and multivariate tests confirm that the working class sees the black militant as more likely to discipline the white man than do the middle class or hardcore. Finally, multivariate tests indicate that for variance specific to the "admire" variable, the middle class sees the black militant as less likely to admire white men than hardcore or working class do.

2. Main effect for age ($p < .02$) -- Univariate tests indicate that younger people see the black militant as more likely to fight with and hit the white man than older people do; however, the multivariate tests suggest that the dual effect is due to common variance. Also, the multivariate tests indicate that for variance unique to the "give orders to" variable, younger people see black militants as more likely to give orders to the white man than older people do.

Table 46 (Continued)

3. Race x class x sex interaction ($p < .05$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that black working class females and white hardcore females are much less likely to see the black militant as playing games with the white man as black working class males and white hardcore males do while the other cells (middle-class black and white, hardcore black and working-class white) are intermediate. The tests also indicate that black middle class and white working class males are much less likely to assume the black militant will discipline the white man than the black hardcore and working class males and white working class females do, while the other cells are intermediate (black females and white hardcore and middle class).

Table 47

Role Pair Perceptions for White Cop-Black Demonstrator (park)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As a Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	3.4	4.3	2.1	3.7	2.4	2.8	1.6	4.1	5.2	6.0
			35-45	1.7	3.8	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.2	2.0	4.8	5.1	7.6
		Male	18-25	1.1	5.7	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.3	6.0	4.8	4.8	7.1
			35-45	2.3	3.5	2.3	2.3	2.5	2.6	0.9	6.6	3.9	5.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	1.1	6.1	1.0	0.6	1.1	0.6	0.5	4.5	5.4	5.3
			35-45	4.1	3.8	1.8	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.8	4.1	3.4	6.4
		Male	18-25	1.9	5.8	2.0	2.0	1.4	1.9	1.6	4.9	6.1	6.2
			35-45	2.8	3.2	2.3	2.3	1.6	3.1	2.1	5.3	3.8	7.1
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	1.0	6.0	0.5	0.9	0.3	0.6	0.5	6.8	6.1	8.3
			35-45	1.7	5.6	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.8	0.8	5.9	5.7	6.9
		Male	18-25	1.8	6.3	0.9	0.9	0.8	1.2	4.0	7.2	5.6	7.5
			35-45	0.9	6.6	0.8	1.2	0.5	1.0	0.7	6.1	6.1	7.5
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	1.0	5.7	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.5	4.4	5.7	7.4
			35-45	1.7	5.6	1.3	2.1	1.0	1.3	0.8	6.3	3.1	6.8
		Male	18-25	2.5	4.9	1.6	2.6	1.5	1.6	1.1	5.6	5.0	6.6
			35-45	1.2	5.6	2.7	2.5	1.1	1.5	1.6	4.5	4.3	6.4

Table 47 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Work Together	Fight With	Treat As a Brother	Call Him Mr.	Love	Admire	Play Games With	Discipline	Hit	Give Orders To
WHITES	Working Class	Female	18-25	0.8	5.9	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	7.5	4.2	7.4
			35-45	2.1	4.8	1.7	2.3	1.1	1.4	1.1	5.3	2.8	6.3
		Male	18-25	0.9	5.3	0.8	2.3	0.5	0.8	0.9	5.1	4.3	6.2
			35-45	2.0	5.0	1.8	1.5	1.1	1.5	1.3	5.1	3.8	5.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	1.7	6.2	1.6	1.4	0.9	1.2	0.7	6.6	5.5	7.6
			35-45	1.5	5.3	1.3	2.7	1.5	1.8	4.0	6.1	3.8	7.0
		Male	18-25	0.9	6.6	1.1	1.2	0.9	1.1	0.6	7.4	6.1	8.0
			35-45	1.1	5.8	1.5	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.4	6.8	4.7	7.8

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0006$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests confirm that blacks see the white cop as more likely to work together and more likely to hit the black demonstrator than the whites do.

2. Main effect for class ($p < .007$) -- Univariate tests confirm that the middle class sees the white cop as more likely to fight with and hit, discipline and give orders to a black demonstrator than the hardcore and working class do; however, the multivariate tests suggest that the effects occuring in the "hit" and "give orders to" variables are due to common variance with the "fight with" and "discipline" variables, respectively. In addition, the univariate and multivariate tests confirm that the middle class sees the white cop as less likely to call the black demonstrator Mr. than the working class who sees the white cop as less likely to call the black demonstrator Mr. than the hardcore does.

3. Main effect for age ($p < .03$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests confirm that younger people see the white cop as more likely to fight with and hit the black demonstrator than older people do. Also, younger people see the white cop as less likely to treat the black demonstrator as a brother than the older people do.

previous study we sampled blacks exclusively in the lower-lower social class, while in the present study we sampled also the upper-lower and the middle class.

The second important theme was that in the previous study we uncovered a kidding relationship, involving playing with and hitting in work roles, for the white but not the black samples. This pattern was replicated in the present study, but it seems primarily present in the male samples.

The new study also shows that the blacks are very suspicious of whites in work settings, and see black foremen as more friendly and less superordinate toward all types of workers than do the whites. Furthermore, the blacks see more favoritism by the white foremen. Finally, there is a strong tendency for the blacks to expect poorer relationships between a black worker and a white worker than do the whites.

There is broad agreement across race concerning the roles which involve interracial conflict. Variations in the perception of such roles seem associated with age and social class rather than race.

Broadly speaking, there is enough replication of previous findings to suggest that we are on firm ground. For certain hardcore blacks the work situation is likely to be problematic, both because they do not have accurate perceptions of probable social relations (expect more love and admiration and less superordination than is likely to occur) and because some of the white working class kidding patterns (play with and hit) might not be seen as appropriate, while a pattern of greater than usual formality (call him Mr.) is seen as appropriate. However, the majority of blacks should have no problems in such settings.

Job Perceptions

In the previous study (Triandis, Feldman and Harvey, 1971b), we found that the major difference between blacks and whites was in their perception of VARIABLE jobs (social worker, writer) with an added difference for INVARIABLE jobs (truck drivers, secretaries, factory workers). The blacks relative to the whites in our samples, over-evaluated the variable and underevaluated the invariable jobs. However, since our sample of whites included many women, which was not the case for the black sample, it was important to replicate this finding in the present study to determine the locus of the phenomenon. Thus in the present study we only studied the five jobs mentioned above.

One more point about the old study is notable. For four out of five of these jobs the black hardcore underevaluated the job relative to the black high school students. Only factory work is seen somewhat more positively by the hardcore than by the high school students.

In the new data we note again the more positive evaluation of the variable jobs (social worker and writer) by the blacks, when they are compared with the white samples. A significant effect ($p < .0001$, $p < .02$) is obtained on the common variance of the characteristics well paid, travel alot, has good future. On the other hand, the whites see these two jobs as involving more understanding and politeness, but being slightly less clean than do the blacks. Females have an exceptionally positive image of those two jobs, relative to males, since they see them as more well paid, having a good future, and more clean and hardworking than do the males. Details are seen in Tables 48 to 52. Figure 12 shows the judgments of some of our samples.

While one previous finding, that blacks value variable jobs very highly, was replicated, the complementary underevaluation of invariable jobs was not.

Table 48

Job Perceptions of Social Workers

Independent Variables			Lazy	Well Paid	Travel A Lot	Good Future	Polite	Skilled	Under-standing	Dirty
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	2.7	5.9	5.6	6.5	7.0	6.9	6.2	1.7
			35-45	2.5	5.3	5.2	5.0	4.9	5.6	5.2	0.8
		Male	18-25	2.0	4.9	6.2	6.7	6.6	5.9	5.6	2.1
			35-45	2.0	4.6	5.7	5.2	7.3	7.5	6.9	1.4
	Working Class	Female	18-25	2.3	5.8	5.8	6.0	6.0	6.8	5.4	0.9
			35-45	3.0	5.5	4.6	6.6	6.8	5.5	6.3	0.6
		Male	18-25	2.8	4.0	5.9	5.6	4.7	5.5	5.2	2.4
			35-45	2.8	5.0	4.9	5.2	4.1	6.4	5.2	2.1
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	1.4	4.2	4.5	5.0	5.6	6.3	7.0	1.2
			35-45	2.5	4.1	3.8	5.0	4.4	6.3	5.6	1.5
		Male	18-25	2.8	3.2	3.3	5.1	5.1	5.7	5.9	1.8
			35-45	2.8	4.2	6.1	5.7	5.0	6.4	5.4	1.7
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	1.8	3.8	4.6	5.2	5.6	5.2	6.7	1.7
			35-45	1.5	6.3	5.5	6.1	6.7	5.9	7.0	0.8
		Male	18-25	2.0	3.9	4.7	4.9	5.3	6.4	5.5	1.9
			35-45	2.6	4.2	4.7	4.6	6.6	6.3	7.4	1.3
	Working Class	Female	18-25	1.6	4.3	5.2	5.6	6.5	7.5	7.4	1.0
			35-45	1.8	3.8	4.5	4.6	6.3	7.2	7.1	1.2
		Male	18-25	2.2	3.1	3.4	3.7	5.6	5.9	6.5	2.0
			35-45	2.1	3.9	5.6	4.6	5.8	5.6	6.4	2.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	2.4	3.6	4.4	5.6	5.9	6.0	6.5	1.9
			35-45	2.7	4.0	4.3	5.5	6.3	6.3	6.5	1.4
		Male	18-25	2.8	3.6	3.5	3.8	5.5	5.9	5.9	2.2
			35-45	2.7	3.8	4.4	4.7	6.6	6.9	7.0	1.8

Table 48 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that blacks are more likely to see social workers as well paid, but whites are more likely to see social workers as understanding. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "polite" as indicating that whites are more likely than blacks to see social workers as polite. Univariate tests show blacks are more likely to see social workers as traveling a lot and having a good future, but this shares variance with "well paid."

2. Main effect for sex ($p < .0111$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show that females are more likely than males to see social workers as well paid, whereas males are more likely to see the job as being dirty. Univariate tests show females are more likely to see social workers as having a good future. This is related to "well paid."

Table 49

Job Perceptions of Writers

Independent Variables	Lazy	Well Paid	Travel A Lot	Good Future	Polite	Skilled	Under-standing	Dirty
18-25	1.8	5.6	5.0	5.7	5.7	6.3	5.1	1.7
35-45	2.4	4.6	4.4	4.6	5.1	5.3	4.4	2.0
18-25	2.2	5.6	5.3	4.8	4.6	6.5	5.3	2.7
35-45	2.6	5.1	5.0	5.8	6.6	6.2	5.8	2.0
18-25	1.5	6.0	5.5	5.4	4.9	6.9	5.7	1.4
35-45	2.9	4.6	4.3	6.2	4.7	6.3	6.1	2.1
18-25	2.6	5.5	5.5	5.1	4.5	7.0	4.8	3.0
35-45	2.7	5.3	4.5	5.0	4.6	5.5	5.1	2.1
18-25	2.1	4.4	4.1	4.3	4.1	6.9	5.4	2.1
35-45	2.8	4.9	4.7	5.1	4.2	6.8	5.1	2.9
18-25	2.2	3.8	4.4	5.3	4.3	6.6	5.7	2.2
35-45	2.9	4.8	5.0	4.9	5.1	6.7	6.0	2.4
18-25	2.1	4.1	4.8	4.6	5.4	6.0	5.7	2.2
35-45	1.7	4.9	4.2	4.8	4.2	7.5	5.4	2.3
18-25	3.2	4.3	3.8	4.6	4.4	6.9	5.4	3.5
35-45	2.2	4.4	5.4	3.9	4.0	5.8	5.9	2.0
18-25	1.4	4.6	5.4	5.2	5.6	7.5	6.1	2.2
35-45	2.6	4.8	5.0	4.7	4.3	6.4	4.1	2.5
18-25	2.5	5.0	4.0	4.3	3.5	6.6	4.1	2.9
35-45	3.0	4.8	4.3	4.2	4.2	5.6	4.5	2.4
18-25	2.8	2.9	4.0	3.9	4.3	5.9	4.9	2.6
35-45	2.8	3.8	3.7	3.7	4.2	6.4	4.7	2.3
18-25	3.1	4.0	5.3	4.2	3.7	6.4	5.8	3.1
35-45	3.2	4.5	4.9	5.1	4.8	6.9	6.7	3.0

Table 49 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0238$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that blacks are more likely than whites to see writers as well paid and having a good future. Univariate tests show blacks as more likely to see writers as polite, but this variable shares common variance with preceding variables. The whites are more likely to see the job as "dirty" but this is inversely related to "nice."

2. Main effect for sex ($p < .0721$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show males as more likely that females to see writers as lazy and involving a dirty job.

3. Sex x age ($p < .0274$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that older males, followed by older females and younger females are likely to think of writers as polite. However, younger males, followed by older females and then older males are likely to think the job is dirty. Univariate tests show older males as most likely to think of writers as understanding but this item appears to share variance with "nice."

Table 50

Job Perceptions of Truck Drivers

Independent Variables			Lazy	Well Paid	Travel A Lot	Good Future	Polite	Skilled	Under-standing	Dirty
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	3.1	5.9	7.2	5.7	5.7	5.8	4.4	2.0
			35-45	1.9	6.8	7.6	4.5	3.3	4.2	3.8	3.2
		Male	18-25	2.1	7.4	8.1	5.9	4.2	5.9	3.3	3.4
			35-45	0.9	6.3	7.3	5.8	6.2	6.5	5.8	3.2
	Working Class	Female	18-25	1.8	6.5	7.8	5.5	3.3	5.6	4.4	4.3
			35-45	2.9	6.5	7.6	5.7	3.9	5.6	5.4	3.2
		Male	18-25	3.0	6.5	8.2	4.5	3.2	5.8	3.9	5.1
			35-45	2.1	7.1	7.6	6.3	3.7	5.9	4.8	4.1
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	1.8	7.3	8.0	5.3	4.2	5.5	3.8	3.3
			35-45	2.2	6.4	7.1	4.9	5.0	6.2	4.7	3.9
		Male	18-25	1.9	7.2	7.2	6.0	3.7	5.5	3.9	3.5
			35-45	1.9	6.4	7.5	6.4	4.9	5.5	5.4	3.0
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	1.5	6.2	6.9	5.5	4.5	4.9	4.0	3.0
			35-45	2.3	5.8	7.2	4.7	3.7	5.8	5.2	3.2
		Male	18-25	2.9	6.2	7.2	5.4	3.4	6.5	3.8	4.5
			35-45	2.6	5.2	6.9	3.6	5.3	6.4	4.8	3.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	2.0	6.4	8.0	4.8	4.1	5.5	4.4	3.7
			35-45	2.4	6.3	7.8	4.8	5.0	4.6	4.7	2.8
		Male	18-25	4.6	7.0	7.4	5.5	3.0	3.8	3.1	4.7
			35-45	2.3	6.0	6.0	5.0	4.5	5.6	4.1	3.4
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	2.8	6.2	7.4	5.4	3.6	5.7	3.9	3.4
			35-45	2.8	6.3	7.3	5.1	4.5	4.9	3.4	2.8
		Male	18-25	3.4	5.7	8.1	5.2	3.1	5.4	3.5	4.4
			35-45	2.8	6.1	7.1	5.1	5.2	5.9	4.6	3.7

Table 50

Job Perceptions of Truck Drivers

Independent Variables			Lazy	Well Paid	Travel A Lot	Good Future	Polite	Skilled	Under-standing	Dirty
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	3.1	5.9	7.2	5.7	5.7	5.8	4.4	2.0
			35-45	1.9	6.8	7.6	4.5	3.3	4.2	3.8	3.2
		Male	18-25	2.1	7.4	8.1	5.9	4.2	5.9	3.3	3.4
			35-45	0.9	6.3	7.3	5.8	6.2	6.5	5.8	3.2
	Working Class	Female	18-25	1.8	6.5	7.8	5.5	3.3	5.6	4.4	4.3
			35-45	2.9	6.5	7.6	5.7	3.9	5.6	5.4	3.2
		Male	18-25	3.0	6.5	8.2	4.5	3.2	5.8	3.9	5.1
			35-45	2.1	7.1	7.6	6.3	3.7	5.9	4.8	4.1
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	1.8	7.3	8.0	5.3	4.2	5.5	3.8	3.3
			35-45	2.2	6.4	7.1	4.9	5.0	6.2	4.7	3.9
		Male	18-25	1.9	7.2	7.2	6.0	3.7	5.5	3.9	3.5
			35-45	1.9	6.4	7.5	6.4	4.9	5.5	5.4	3.0
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	1.5	6.2	6.9	5.5	4.5	4.9	4.0	3.0
			35-45	2.3	5.8	7.2	4.7	3.7	5.8	5.2	3.2
		Male	18-25	2.9	6.2	7.2	5.4	3.4	6.5	3.8	4.5
			35-45	2.6	5.2	6.9	3.6	5.3	6.4	4.8	3.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	2.0	6.4	8.0	4.8	4.1	5.5	4.4	3.7
			35-45	2.4	6.3	7.8	4.8	5.0	4.6	4.7	2.8
		Male	18-25	4.6	7.0	7.4	5.5	3.0	3.8	3.1	4.7
			35-45	2.3	6.0	6.0	5.0	4.5	5.6	4.1	3.4
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	2.8	6.2	7.4	5.4	3.6	5.7	3.9	3.4
			35-45	2.8	6.3	7.3	5.1	4.5	4.9	3.4	2.8
		Male	18-25	3.4	5.7	8.1	5.2	3.1	5.4	3.5	4.4
			35-45	2.8	6.1	7.1	5.1	5.2	5.9	4.6	3.7

Table 50 (Continued)

1. Main effect for age ($p < .0024$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show that older people (in the 35-45 age group) are more likely to view truck drivers as polite. The older age group is also more likely to see truck drivers as understanding. Univariate tests show the younger age group as more likely to think truck driving is dirty, but this is inversely related to understanding.

2. Interaction of race x socioeconomic status ($p < .0482$) -- Multivariate tests show variance unique to "skilled". The white hardcore are most likely to see truck drivers as skilled, followed by black working class, the black middle class, black hardcore, white middle class and white working class.

3. Sex x age interaction ($p < .0233$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show that younger males are most likely to see truck drivers as lazy. Older females are next most likely to see drivers as lazy, followed by younger females, with older males least likely to think so. Older males are most likely to see truck drivers as polite, with younger and older females equally likely to see drivers as polite and younger males least likely. Univariate tests show "understanding" related to "polite" and sharing common variance.

Table 51

Job Perceptions of Secretaries

Independent Variables			Lazy	Well Paid	Travel A Lot	Good Future	Polite	Skilled	Under-standing	Dirty
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	2.5	6.6	3.8	6.8	6.6	7.7	6.2	1.0
			35-45	2.6	5.0	2.7	4.7	6.0	6.2	4.9	1.0
		Male	18-25	3.4	5.0	3.0	4.6	6.5	5.7	5.5	1.7
			35-45	1.9	6.1	3.5	5.9	7.4	7.4	7.4	0.8
	Working Class	Female	18-25	1.9	5.3	2.8	6.6	5.9	7.7	6.1	0.5
			35-45	3.0	5.1	2.9	7.0	6.4	7.2	6.2	0.8
		Male	18-25	3.8	5.3	3.1	5.4	6.0	6.7	4.8	1.6
			35-45	2.3	4.6	2.7	5.1	5.6	6.7	5.4	1.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	3.4	3.3	2.1	3.5	5.0	6.1	4.5	1.6
			35-45	2.4	4.5	3.1	4.9	6.3	6.8	5.1	1.2
		Male	18-25	2.4	3.3	2.8	4.0	5.7	6.2	4.6	0.8
			35-45	1.9	4.0	2.3	4.1	6.7	6.4	5.9	1.5
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	1.9	5.4	2.5	5.5	6.4	6.7	5.1	0.8
			35-45	1.7	5.3	3.2	5.5	6.6	7.3	6.3	1.2
		Male	18-25	2.3	4.8	3.0	4.4	6.9	7.3	5.7	1.7
			35-45	2.5	3.5	3.2	3.5	5.8	6.1	4.5	1.8
	Working Class	Female	18-25	1.5	5.3	2.8	6.4	7.7	8.4	5.9	0.8
			35-45	2.6	5.4	3.0	4.5	6.2	7.5	5.4	1.2
		Male	18-25	2.8	3.8	2.5	4.0	4.9	5.7	4.4	2.0
			35-45	2.9	4.3	2.3	5.0	6.0	5.9	5.3	2.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	2.6	2.9	2.1	4.3	6.7	6.7	5.0	1.8
			35-45	3.1	4.3	2.6	4.0	6.0	6.1	4.2	1.3
		Male	18-25	3.4	3.4	3.1	3.8	6.0	5.2	5.0	1.5
			35-45	3.4	4.8	3.1	4.5	6.8	6.7	5.7	2.0

Table 51 (Continued)

1. Contrast for race ($p < .0633$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests both indicate that blacks are more likely than whites to see secretaries as having a good future.

2. Contrast for socioeconomic class ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show that the hardcore is most likely to think secretaries are well paid, while the middle class is least likely to think so. The working class is most likely to see secretaries as having a good future, the middle class is least likely to think so. Univariate tests show the working class most likely to see secretaries as skilled, the middle class least likely. This item appears to share common variance with "good future."

3. Contrast for sex ($p < .0005$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that females are more likely than males to see secretaries as having a good future and as being skilled. Univariate tests show males are more likely to see secretaries as being a dirty job though this appears inversely related to "skilled."

4. Contrast for race x socioeconomic status x sex x age ($p < .0381$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show that the older, working class, black females are most likely to see secretaries as having a good future. In general, females, blacks, working class and older people are most likely to see secretaries as having a good future. Univariate tests show "nice," "skilled," and "understanding" as being related and sharing variance with "good future."

Table 52

Job Perceptions of Factory Workers

Independent Variables			Lazy	Well Paid	Travel A Lot	Good Future	Polite	Skilled	Under-standing	Dirty
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	2.8	3.7	2.6	3.4	4.4	4.9	4.0	2.8
			35-45	2.1	2.8	1.8	2.6	3.4	3.5	3.2	4.1
		Male	18-25	1.6	3.0	2.7	3.0	4.0	4.4	4.3	3.1
			35-45	1.5	5.0	2.4	4.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	2.8
	Working Class	Female	18-25	3.3	2.8	1.5	3.0	4.4	3.2	3.6	3.4
			35-45	3.2	2.9	1.6	2.8	4.6	4.7	4.6	3.2
		Male	18-25	3.2	3.1	2.6	2.5	3.4	3.5	4.3	4.4
			35-45	2.6	4.2	2.4	4.2	4.0	5.1	4.6	4.4
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	2.8	2.6	1.4	2.2	3.7	4.4	4.1	3.3
			35-45	2.6	2.8	1.8	2.9	4.2	4.5	4.6	3.4
		Male	18-25	2.5	3.5	2.2	3.1	3.4	3.2	3.6	3.5
			35-45	2.5	4.1	2.1	3.3	4.1	5.4	4.4	4.6
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	1.4	2.9	2.0	2.8	4.0	4.8	4.4	3.4
			35-45	2.6	4.0	1.8	3.2	3.8	5.9	4.3	3.6
		Male	18-25	2.5	3.1	1.7	3.3	3.9	4.5	4.5	5.3
			35-45	2.5	3.3	2.9	2.9	4.6	5.1	4.2	3.5
	Working Class	Female	18-25	2.7	3.0	1.6	3.3	5.2	4.5	5.3	3.5
			35-45	2.5	3.6	1.6	2.9	4.2	5.1	4.1	3.1
		Male	18-25	2.3	2.4	1.7	2.3	4.0	3.0	4.1	4.6
			35-45	2.9	3.3	1.7	3.2	5.1	4.6	4.3	3.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	2.9	3.3	2.7	2.8	4.9	4.2	4.3	3.3
			35-45	3.0	3.6	2.3	2.9	3.5	3.6	3.5	2.9
		Male	18-25	3.3	3.4	1.9	2.8	3.4	3.8	3.7	4.7
			35-45	3.4	4.4	1.9	4.0	4.7	4.1	5.0	3.7

Table 52 (Continued)

1. Main effect for sex ($p < 0138$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests show that males are more likely than females to see factory workers as well paid and the job as dirty.

2. Main effect for age ($p < .0339$) -- Univariate tests and multivariate tests both indicate that older workers are more likely than younger workers to see factory workers as well paid. Univariate tests show that older workers are more likely to see factory workers as having a good future and being skilled; some common variance with "well paid" seems evident here.

3. Sex x age ($p < .0569$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show older males as most likely to see factory workers as polite, with younger females next most likely and younger males least most likely to have this perception. Univariate tests show older males as most likely to also see factory workers as having a good future, skilled and understanding, with younger males generally the least likely to share these perceptions. These items appear to share much variance with "nice."

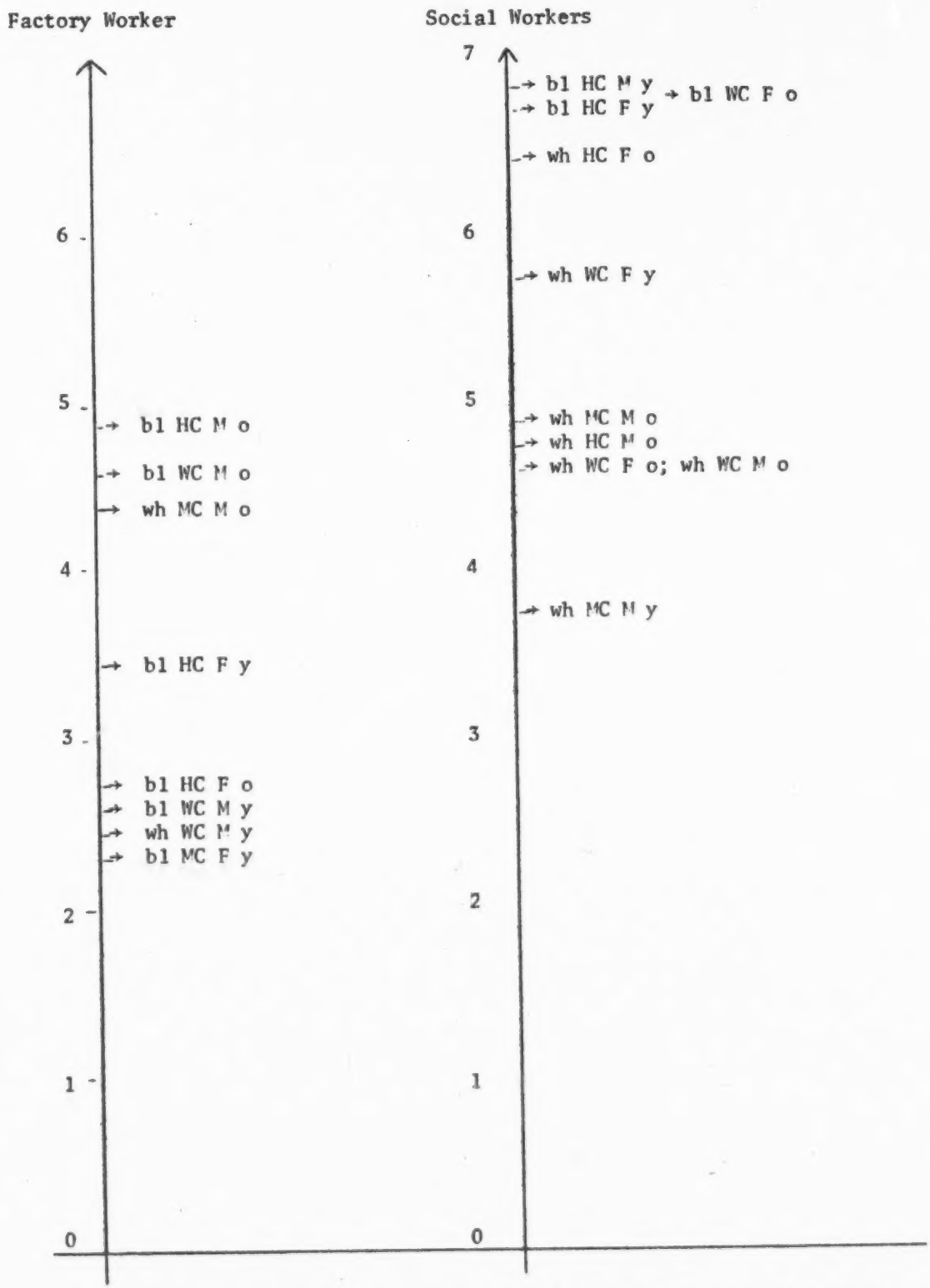


Figure 12. Top 4 and bottom 4 samples on perception of <u>good future</u> for two jobs.

In fact, there were no important race effects in the MANOVA. The major effects were a somewhat greater liking of the truckdriver job by the older samples and the white hardcore, of the secretarial job by the hardcore and the females, and the factory job by the older males.

Discussion

There is only one replicated finding of interest: The higher positive evaluation of variable jobs by the blacks. This might be related to our hypothesis (Triandis et al., 1971b, p. 19) that blacks find routine jobs uninteresting and prefer jobs which involve excitement or variation, and do not require doing things by the clock.

Perception of Implicative Relationships

In the previous study (Triandis, Feldman and Harvey, 1971c) we examined the perceived connections between the perceived antecedents of events on the one hand, and the perceived consequences of these events on the other. The major findings were as follows:

1. Hardcore blacks, of the previous study, see little connection between what they do and what happens to them.

2. The white middle class are more "realistic" (in the sense that finishing high school is an antecedent of going to college) in their perceived antecedents and consequents. This may reflect more knowledge or less defensiveness.

3. The blacks see less connection between their ability to get a job and getting the job and less satisfaction with the job once they have it.

4. The hardcore blacks see no connection between getting along with the boss and getting help or respect from him.

5. The blacks see less connection between being dependent on others and doing your own thing, while the whites see dependence as negatively related

to being able to do your own thing. The major antecedent of doing your own thing, for the blacks, is to be cool. Furthermore doing your own thing does not lead to self-actualization, in the black samples, but it does in the white.

6. The whites, unlike the blacks, saw strong connections between being trustworthy and having friends and strong connections between having friends and having fun and getting help.

In the present study we sampled the antecedents and consequences of finishing school, getting a good job, getting a bad job, getting along with the boss, having friends, and doing your own thing.

To Finish High School

In the old data the blacks indicated that in order to finish high school a person should want to go to college and have friends who are dropouts; they were less likely than the whites to see a connection between getting passing grades and finishing and being smart and finishing. Hence, we note the greater realism of the whites in that study (although the blacks may be realistic also in a different way). The high school sample of blacks was more realistic than the hardcore. Turning to the consequences of graduation from high school, the old study shows the blacks seeing concrete consequences (buy a car, rent your own apartment, get a job, be lazy for awhile) and the whites being more likely to report psychic gains (gain respect from others).

In the new study we replicate the white tendency to see a strong connection between getting passing grades and finishing high school, reported in the previous study. The blacks of the new study indicate that the significant antecedents of high school graduation are: being interested in the work, coming each day, wanting to learn and asking for help. These effects are dependable ($p < .0001$) but they do not provide clear support for the hypothesis of greater realism among the whites.

The hardcore is most likely to see a connection between doing the work given, being interested in the work, coming to school each day, being smart and asking for help on the one hand and graduation on the other ($p < .0001$). The middle class is not so sure that these are important connections. On the other hand, the middle class is most likely to see a connection between passing grades and graduation.

Males are more likely than females to see wanting to go to college and being smart as connected with high school graduation ($p < .03$).

Older samples indicate that doing the work given, wanting to go to college and being interested in the school work are more strongly connected with high school graduation than is the case for younger samples ($p < .0001$).

The new data do not replicate the contrast between concrete outcomes and psychic gains suggested by the earlier study. The consequences of graduation from high school replicate the strong black response to buy a car ($p < .006$), but we also find the blacks saying they would feel proud to a greater extent than do the whites. The hardcore are more likely to indicate that feeling proud is a consequence of graduation, but the middle class are more likely to see moving to your own apartment as such a consequence ($p < .001$).

The hardcore are more likely to feel more mature and not depend on others after graduation than is the case with the middle class; the working class are more likely to see getting job training as a consequence of graduation.

Males are more likely to see going into the military, buying a car and being treated better by parents after graduation than are females ($p < .0002$). Females are more likely to see getting married as a consequence.

The young are more likely than the old to see high school graduation as leading to getting a car, moving into your own apartment and being lazy for a while ($p < .04$).

White older males are most likely and black younger females are least likely to see a connection between graduation and getting a job. The white samples see a stronger connection between graduation and getting a job than the black samples, with the exception of the young males where the reverse pattern is observed ($p < .001$). The older young males see a strong connection between graduation and going into the military than do other groups ($p < .001$).

Tables 53 and 54 show the details of these findings.

Discussion of finishing high school. The strong connection between graduation and buying a car (which implies getting a job first) among the blacks, the strong connection of graduation with joining the military for the males, the connection of graduation and job training for the working class, the strong connection between graduation and feeling proud for the hardcore but not the middle class, suggest that the data are valid. These are the kinds of results that one might expect from common sense reasoning.

It is notable that the race effect (black vs white) and the social class effect (hardcore vs middle class) involve the same patterns of antecedents. Specifically, being interested in the work, coming to school every day, and asking for help are antecedents stressed by both the blacks and hardcore, while getting passing grades are stressed by both the whites and the middle class. The implication, it seems, is that even if one is not interested in the work one ought to graduate, and the critical thing is the reaching of short term goals, such as getting passing grades, rather than the broad motivational structure. Perhaps the important point is the reverse of the obtained pattern: the white middle class indicates that one should graduate even if he is not interested in the school work; the blacks and the hardcore do not see the significance of passing grades, i.e., short term goals.

Table 53

Antecedents of To Finish High School

Independent Variables				Do Work Given	Want to go to College	Be Interested in School Work	Come to School Each Day	Please Teachers	Passing Grades	Be Smart
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.7	2.8	5.0	8.2	5.4	7.3	5.3
			35-45	8.2	2.4	8.1	8.4	5.3	8.4	6.0
		Male	18-25	7.4	2.5	6.9	7.1	4.3	7.1	7.1
			35-45	8.6	5.0	8.7	8.2	6.4	8.0	7.1
	Working Class	Female	18-25	8.1	2.9	7.2	7.5	4.0	8.7	4.4
			35-45	7.3	3.9	7.3	8.2	4.4	8.5	5.8
		Male	18-25	8.0	4.0	7.0	7.4	3.4	8.5	5.8
			35-45	7.7	3.9	8.2	8.2	5.9	8.6	6.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.8	1.5	6.5	7.1	3.8	7.9	4.5
			35-45	7.4	2.1	5.7	6.6	3.8	8.4	3.6
		Male	18-25	6.3	2.2	3.5	5.0	3.9	7.7	3.6
			35-45	7.5	3.5	7.0	7.4	4.0	8.0	5.9
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.4	1.4	5.7	5.8	5.1	8.5	4.2
			35-45	8.9	3.4	7.9	8.1	5.4	8.0	6.4
		Male	18-25	8.3	2.2	6.2	7.5	3.5	8.6	6.0
			35-45	7.9	5.4	7.6	7.8	4.8	7.5	5.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.2	3.1	5.8	7.0	3.9	8.3	5.1
			35-45	8.0	2.7	6.8	6.7	4.7	7.6	5.3
		Male	18-25	7.7	1.9	4.7	6.7	4.2	8.5	4.6
			35-45	8.3	2.4	6.2	7.0	3.1	8.2	4.7
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.8	1.7	3.5	4.8	3.9	8.2	2.9
			35-45	7.1	1.5	5.5	6.6	3.2	8.3	4.1
		Male	18-25	6.6	3.3	3.6	5.0	3.8	7.9	3.8
			35-45	7.4	3.8	6.1	6.7	4.9	8.4	5.1

Table 53 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Stay Out of Trouble	Want to Finish	Want to Learn	Ask for Help	Study Hard	Get Along With Teachers	Want Good Job	Have Friends-Dropouts
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.5	6.6	7.2	7.6	7.6	6.3	5.6	2.8
			35-45	6.8	7.9	8.1	8.3	7.9	7.4	6.6	1.1
		Male	18-25	6.4	7.8	7.5	6.6	6.6	6.1	6.0	2.9
			35-45	7.8	8.8	8.5	8.4	8.3	8.5	7.0	2.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.0	8.5	6.8	7.1	6.5	6.3	4.3	0.9
			35-45	6.8	8.3	7.9	8.7	7.8	6.5	6.5	1.4
		Male	18-25	6.4	8.0	7.5	7.3	7.3	6.4	7.0	2.4
			35-45	7.4	8.5	8.3	8.3	8.3	7.6	7.8	0.5
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.1	7.6	7.1	7.3	6.6	5.3	4.2	1.3
			35-45	6.2	7.8	6.4	5.7	5.6	5.5	4.1	1.3
		Male	18-25	4.6	6.2	4.8	4.9	3.9	5.1	3.8	1.2
			35-45	6.3	7.9	7.5	7.5	7.6	6.9	5.3	1.5
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.8	7.2	5.8	6.5	5.4	4.8	3.8	0.9
			35-45	7.0	8.1	7.5	7.6	7.3	7.3	7.5	1.6
		Male	18-25	7.2	8.2	7.4	7.2	7.0	6.8	5.3	1.6
			35-45	6.4	8.0	7.7	7.2	7.3	7.0	6.7	2.5
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.3	7.1	6.3	6.1	6.4	5.3	5.4	1.4
			35-45	6.5	8.2	7.8	7.3	7.5	6.3	7.7	1.7
		Male	18-25	6.0	7.7	6.6	6.7	5.2	5.7	5.6	1.3
			35-45	6.6	7.4	7.3	6.4	6.5	5.5	5.6	1.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.2	6.9	4.1	3.9	3.9	4.6	4.2	0.7
			35-45	5.8	7.3	6.4	5.9	5.1	5.7	3.8	1.3
		Male	18-25	5.1	6.4	3.9	3.9	3.7	4.2	3.9	1.4
			35-45	5.7	8.2	6.2	4.7	5.0	5.4	5.1	1.9

Table 53 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- According to both multivariate and univariate tests, blacks are more likely than whites to see being interested in school work, coming each day, wanting to learn, and asking for help as being necessary to finish high school. Multivariate tests indicate variance unique to passing grades shows whites are more likely to see this as necessary to finish high school. Univariate tests show blacks as most likely to see being smart, studying hard, and getting along with teachers as necessary to finish high school, but these items share common variance with others.

2. Main effect for socioeconomic status ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show that the hardcore is the most likely to see as necessary to finish high school: doing the work given, being interested in school work, coming to school each day, being smart, and asking for help. The working class is close behind, but the middle class is a distant third in viewing these things as necessities. Multivariate tests indicate that variance unique to "passing grades" shows that the middle class is most likely to see this as helping to finish high school; whereas the working class is least likely to view passing grades in this way.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .0323$) -- Males are more likely to see wanting to go to college and being smart as necessary for finishing high school according to both univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "asking for help" shows females as more likely than males to see this as a prerequisite for finishing high school.

4. Main effect for age ($p < .0001$) -- Older people are more likely than younger people to view doing the work given, wanting to go to college, and being interested in school work as necessary for a person to finish high school. Variance unique to getting "passing grades" shows older people are slightly more likely to see this as a factor in getting out of high school. Univariate tests show coming to school each day related to being interested in school work. Be smart, stay out of trouble, want to finish, want to learn, ask for help, study hard, get along with teachers, and want a good job are all interrelated and share variance.

Table 54

Consequents of If You Finish High School You...

Independent Variables				Get A Job	Go Into the Military	Go to College	Buy Car	Feel Proud of Yourself	Start Plan Future	Get Married	Feel More Mature
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.4	2.5	3.4	2.7	7.1	6.6	2.8	6.9
			35-45	6.2	3.2	4.9	3.3	8.0	7.3	3.5	6.5
		Male	18-25	6.2	4.9	6.2	3.8	8.1	7.1	3.5	7.0
			35-45	5.7	4.0	3.6	3.0	6.5	6.1	3.3	6.8
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.0	4.0	4.6	2.9	7.7	6.6	4.3	6.5
			35-45	6.4	3.8	4.9	3.8	7.8	7.1	4.1	6.4
		Male	18-25	6.5	5.3	4.7	3.9	7.3	6.8	3.5	7.6
			35-45	5.3	4.6	3.6	2.9	6.9	6.5	3.1	6.6
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.2	3.3	4.9	3.3	7.2	7.2	4.3	6.1
			35-45	4.9	3.9	5.1	2.6	7.6	6.7	3.4	5.6
		Male	18-25	6.2	3.8	6.4	4.4	6.9	6.4	2.6	7.1
			35-45	6.4	4.2	5.0	2.5	6.7	6.2	3.8	4.8
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.0	4.7	5.2	3.4	6.8	6.9	4.0	6.0
			35-45	5.7	3.0	4.6	3.4	7.1	7.2	3.5	6.6
		Male	18-25	4.9	2.8	4.3	4.5	6.9	6.6	3.2	6.0
			35-45	6.7	4.3	6.1	4.5	6.7	7.1	4.6	7.1
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.4	3.0	5.2	3.4	7.5	8.1	3.6	6.4
			35-45	6.3	4.2	4.6	3.2	6.7	6.3	3.1	6.1
		Male	18-25	5.8	3.7	4.2	5.5	6.7	6.6	2.9	5.7
			35-45	6.5	4.5	4.5	3.8	6.2	6.0	3.7	6.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.3	3.9	5.0	3.3	5.2	6.1	4.0	6.6
			35-45	5.6	3.3	4.8	2.7	6.9	6.7	2.9	6.2
		Male	18-25	5.2	3.3	4.9	3.7	4.6	5.4	2.8	4.4
			35-45	5.8	4.7	5.1	4.5	6.2	5.6	3.1	5.6

Table 54 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Get Respect	Don't Depend on Others	Lazy for a While	Glad Not to Listen to Teachers	Get Job Training	Move Into Own Apt.	Treated Better by Parents
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.2	3.4	3.2	3.3	5.3	5.1	5.3
			35-45	7.0	4.9	3.6	4.8	6.0	2.9	6.1
		Male	18-25	6.7	4.0	4.1	5.1	5.7	4.7	6.0
			35-45	6.0	4.8	2.6	3.9	5.6	4.8	5.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.0	4.2	2.9	5.6	5.4	3.3	5.0
			35-45	4.5	4.5	2.3	4.3	5.7	3.4	5.0
		Male	18-25	7.1	5.5	4.2	6.1	6.3	2.9	6.1
			35-45	6.6	4.0	2.7	4.7	5.8	3.8	6.5
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.4	4.0	2.7	4.3	5.5	4.5	4.0
			35-45	5.1	3.4	2.9	3.4	5.5	2.5	4.2
		Male	18-25	5.9	3.6	3.6	3.8	3.9	3.4	4.7
			35-45	4.9	3.1	2.8	4.0	5.4	2.4	4.4
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.9	4.7	3.5	5.4	5.3	4.2	4.8
			35-45	6.4	5.8	2.0	3.7	6.6	3.8	5.4
		Male	18-25	5.5	4.4	3.6	4.3	5.4	3.7	5.5
			35-45	7.1	5.3	2.7	3.8	5.6	3.9	5.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.4	3.9	2.4	4.1	6.9	2.9	3.7
			35-45	5.3	3.1	3.4	4.9	5.8	2.7	5.3
		Male	18-25	5.7	3.9	3.7	4.8	6.5	3.5	4.9
			35-45	6.1	3.8	3.4	5.1	5.5	2.6	5.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.9	3.5	2.7	5.1	5.4	2.8	3.7
			35-45	5.5	3.4	3.1	3.9	5.0	3.3	3.2
		Male	18-25	3.2	3.4	4.0	5.2	4.8	3.8	4.2
			35-45	5.2	3.4	2.4	5.0	5.4	2.7	4.4

Table 54 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0065$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests indicate that whites are more likely than blacks to see buying a car as a consequence of finishing high school, but blacks are more likely to see feeling proud of yourself as a consequence. Univariate tests show blacks more likely to see getting treated better by parents as a consequence, but this item shares variance with "glad not to listen to teachers."

2. Main effect for socioeconomic status ($p < .0010$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that the hardcore is most likely to see feeling proud of yourself and getting respect as consequents of finishing high school (the middle class is least likely). However, members of the middle class are most likely to see moving into your own apartment as a consequence of finishing high school, whereas the hardcore members are least likely to do so. Univariate tests show the hardcore as most likely to see feeling more mature, not depending on others and being treated better by parents as consequents of finishing high school, with the middle class the least likely to do so. Also, the working class is most likely to see getting job training as a consequence (the middle class least likely). Feel more mature shares variance with feel proud of self and not depend on others is related to get respect. Getting job training shares variance with preceding item, and treated better by parents shares variance with move into own apartment.

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .0002$) -- Males are more likely than females to see going into the military, buying a car and being treated better by parents as consequences of finishing high school according to both univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests indicate variance unique to feeling proud of yourself (females more likely to see this as a consequence), getting married (females more likely to see this), and getting respect (males more likely to see this). Univariate tests show females more likely to see being able to start planning your future as a consequence of finishing high school; the significance of this is removed by item 5--feeling proud of yourself.

4. Main effect for age ($p < .0434$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that younger people are more likely than older people to see being able to be lazy for a white and moving into your own apartment as results of finishing high school. Multivariate tests show that young people are also more likely to see buying a car as a result of finishing high school.

5. Race x sex x age ($p < .0010$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that white older males are most likely to see getting a job as a result of finishing high school; younger black females are least likely to see this as a consequence. Except for young males, all white age groups are more likely to see this as a consequence than their black counterparts. Black young males are most likely to see going to college as a consequence of finishing high school; older black males are least likely to see this as a consequence. For females each age group of whites is more likely than their black counterpart to see this as a consequence. Young black females are most likely to see moving into your own apartment as a consequence, older black females are least likely to do so.

Table 54 (Continued)

Univariate tests show older white males most likely to see going into the military as a consequence but this appears related to getting a job. Younger black males are most likely to see "feel more mature" as a consequence of finishing high school, younger white males are least likely. The same holds true for "get respect." These items lose significance in multivariate tests and appear related most closely with "feel proud of yourself."

One could speculate that effective behavior requires having short term goals, and seeing clear connections between particular behaviors and such goals. Ineffective behavior might involve goals that are either exceptionally short term (having fun now) or exceptionally long term, and hence vague.

Getting a Good Job

In the old study the major difference was between the black high school and hardcore. The high school students had a more realistic view of the antecedents of getting a good job, since they indicated that it is necessary to have a skill, have people recommend you, go to an employment agency, be willing to work hard, finish high school, look around for a lot of jobs and have ambition to a greater extent than was the case with the hardcore.

The consequents suggested the black high school students saw strong connections between getting a good job and having more money. However, their white counterparts saw stronger connections than they did between getting a good job and feeling personally satisfied, enjoying work, working harder, having more responsibility, being happier, coming to work each day and doing your best work. Blacks see less connection between a good job and a good place to live, buying the things you want most, doing your best work and wanting to get ahead than do whites ($p < .01$).

The new data do not show a race effect. However, there is a reliable social class effect ($p < .0001$) with the hardcore samples seeing a stronger connection between going to an employment agency and getting a good job. The working class sees willingness to work connected with getting a good job to a greater extent than the middle-class samples. The hardcore also seem to see unusually strong connections between being smart, knowing someone at a company, being sure of yourself, and having experience and getting a good job.

The middle class sees a strong connection between being ambitious and getting a good job, but is otherwise rather low in the kinds of connections they see, when compared with the hardcore.

Males are more likely than females ($p < .001$) to indicate that looking in the newspaper leads to a good job. Having experience is also emphasized by males more than by females. Older people are more likely ($p < .02$) to see having a skill related to getting a good job than is the case for young people. Looking at many jobs is seen as leading to getting a good job by the younger sample to a greater extent than by the older sample.

Unlike the blacks of the previous study, the blacks of this study see a reliable connection ($p < .0001$) between getting a good job and a better place to live. This may be regional. The blacks of the earlier study lived in the periphery of Chicago or in St. Louis, while the blacks of the present study live in the center of Chicago. Whites have a dependable tendency ($p < .0001$) to see having more responsibility and coming to work daily as consequents of having a good job. Whites replicate the earlier study's results by showing a stronger connection than do blacks between getting a good job and enjoying one's work.

A highly dependable social class effect ($p < .0001$) shows the hardcore most likely to see saving money, wanting to get ahead, and feeling safe as consequents of getting a good job; the middle class are least likely to see strong connections on those items.

Males are more likely ($p < .02$) to see a connection between a good job and buying the things you want; females see a good job connected with being satisfied a bit more than do males.

Older samples tend to see ($p < .04$) more responsibility, a better place to live and enjoying work as consequents to a greater extent than younger samples. The details are seen in Tables 55 and 56.

Table 55

Antecedents of To Get a Good Job

Independent Variables				Have A Skill	Have People Recommend You	Go To Employment Agency	Willing to Work Hard	Sure of Yourself	Finish High School	Have Experience
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.6	5.4	4.1	7.2	8.0	7.4	6.3
			35-45	7.1	4.3	3.5	7.0	7.5	7.2	5.5
		Male	18-25	6.6	4.5	4.8	7.2	7.6	7.0	6.9
			35-45	7.2	6.0	5.1	8.2	8.0	6.6	7.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.6	5.1	3.6	6.7	6.1	7.2	6.6
			35-45	6.8	6.8	4.2	6.5	6.7	7.4	5.3
		Male	18-25	5.9	4.8	4.6	6.3	6.7	6.7	6.3
			35-45	5.7	4.7	4.1	7.4	7.3	7.1	7.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.3	5.5	3.4	6.6	6.9	7.5	5.4
			35-45	5.9	5.9	2.7	5.8	7.4	6.8	6.1
		Male	18-25	4.3	4.4	3.1	4.8	6.6	6.6	5.1
			35-45	6.9	6.2	3.8	6.7	7.0	7.2	5.7
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.4	5.1	3.7	7.8	7.8	6.8	5.5
			35-45	7.7	7.0	4.5	7.2	7.2	7.6	6.5
		Male	18-25	5.5	4.9	3.5	6.6	6.9	5.1	5.7
			35-45	7-7	6.2	4.4	7.4	7.3	6.6	6.1
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.7	5.5	3.7	8.4	7.7	8.1	7.2
			35-45	5.7	5.1	3.0	8.4	7.5	7.2	5.1
		Male	18-25	5.8	4.1	2.6	7.5	8.3	6.5	5.6
			35-45	6.2	5.0	3.2	7.8	7.0	7.1	5.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.9	5.8	3.2	6.2	5.9	7.4	5.3
			35-45	7.4	5.7	3.6	6.4	6.6	6.9	5.2
		Male	18-25	6.6	6.4	3.0	5.4	6.4	6.6	6.1
			35-45	7.3	6.1	3.6	6.7	7.3	7.3	6.4

Table 55 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Smart	Look in Newspaper	Show Right Attitude	Finish College	Interested by Job	Look at Many Jobs	Ambition	Know Someone in Company
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.8	3.9	7.3	4.2	6.0	5.1	7.9	2.6
			35-45	6.8	2.8	8.1	5.6	6.6	3.9	7.3	3.6
		Male	18-25	6.7	3.9	7.6	4.9	6.4	5.0	8.0	3.3
			35-45	6.9	5.2	7.2	4.3	7.9	5.2	8.0	5.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.1	2.8	7.7	3.5	4.4	3.7	6.0	2.3
			35-45	6.2	3.2	8.3	4.9	6.3	4.8	7.7	3.3
		Male	18-25	6.6	5.2	7.1	4.6	5.4	5.6	7.4	4.2
			35-45	6.4	3.6	6.8	4.5	7.5	5.5	8.1	2.5
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.4	3.2	7.8	4.9	5.8	5.0	6.7	3.2
			35-45	6.0	3.6	7.4	5.2	6.4	5.1	7.1	3.7
		Male	18-25	4.3	2.9	7.5	4.3	5.5	5.4	6.1	3.4
			35-45	6.3	3.3	6.5	5.6	5.1	4.6	6.9	3.4
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.2	3.3	7.9	2.7	5.8	5.9	6.8	2.9
			35-45	6.9	4.6	7.8	4.3	6.4	3.9	7.5	3.3
		Male	18-25	5.9	4.2	6.9	4.0	5.2	5.5	7.6	3.7
			35-45	6.6	4.2	7.6	5.9	6.9	5.6	7.5	3.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.3	3.3	8.4	4.8	7.0	5.1	7.9	2.8
			35-45	5.8	3.5	8.1	4.1	6.1	4.4	7.9	3.5
		Male	18-25	5.9	3.4	7.7	4.2	6.7	4.6	7.0	2.7
			35-45	6.3	4.4	8.2	4.8	7.2	5.0	7.5	3.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.9	3.7	6.4	4.4	5.2	5.5	5.0	3.6
			35-45	5.5	3.6	6.9	4.6	4.5	4.9	6.3	3.2
		Male	18-25	5.6	3.7	6.5	5.6	4.8	5.0	5.8	4.6
			35-45	6.1	4.8	8.1	5.3	6.4	4.9	7.3	3.5

Table 55 (Continued)

1. Contrast for socioeconomic status ($p < .0001$) -- Members of the hardcore are most likely to see going to an employment agency as leading to a good job; middle class members are least likely to view this method as leading to a good job, according to both univariate and multivariate tests. Also, working class members are most likely to see willingness to work hard as helping to get a good job (though only slightly more so than the hardcore) and the middle class is least likely. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "have experience" indicates that the hardcore is slightly more likely than the working class to see having experience as a prerequisite to getting a good job. The middle class is least likely to have this view. Univariate tests indicate the hardcore as most likely to see "sure of self" as necessary, the middle class least likely. This item shares variance with the preceding item. The hardcore is also most likely to see "smart" as necessary, the middle class least likely--related to "have experience." The working class is most likely to see "show right attitude" as necessary, middle class least likely; hardcore most likely to see interested in job as necessary, middle class least likely. Middle class most likely to see ambition as necessary, working class least likely, and hardcore most likely to see knowing someone in company as necessary, working class least likely. These last four items are interrelated and also share variance with "smart."

2. Contrast for sex ($p < .0013$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests indicate that males are more likely than females to see looking in the newspaper as leading to a good job. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "have experience" shows that males are more likely to view this as leading to a good job. Univariate tests indicate that females are more likely to see finishing high school as necessary, but this is related to preceding items. Males are more likely to see knowing someone in the company as necessary, but this shares variance with looking in the paper.

3. Contrast for age ($p < .0191$) -- Older people are more likely to see having a skill as necessary to get a good job according to both multivariate and univariate tests. Multivariate tests show that variance unique to "look at many jobs" indicates that younger people are more likely to see this as a means of getting a good job. Univariate tests show that older people are more likely to see as necessary to get a good job--having people recommend you, being smart, finishing college, being interested by the job, and having ambition. The significance of these items is removed by preceding items in the multivariate tests.

Table 56

Consequents of If You Get a Good Job, You

Independent Variables				Open Bank Acct	Feel Safe	Have Money for Needs	Better Place to Live	Person-ally Satisfied	Enjoy Working More	Work Harder	More Respons-ibility
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.9	5.1	7.6	6.1	6.1	6.2	6.1	6.5
			35-45	5.8	6.7	7.9	7.5	7.6	7.1	6.5	6.8
		Male	18-25	6.3	6.9	7.7	6.0	6.3	6.0	6.5	6.2
			35-45	5.7	7.2	7.0	6.3	7.4	6.2	6.9	3.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.6	5.3	7.6	5.3	7.3	5.8	5.6	5.7
			35-45	6.6	5.7	7.6	5.9	6.0	6.9	6.0	4.9
		Male	18-25	7.4	7.4	7.2	6.6	7.6	6.9	7.0	6.6
			35-45	6.8	7.0	8.2	6.9	7.4	6.5	6.6	7.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.6	6.5	6.9	5.5	7.0	6.6	6.2	6.4
			35-45	6.9	6.5	7.4	7.2	7.5	6.9	6.1	6.3
		Male	18-25	7.1	6.9	8.0	7.6	7.3	6.6	6.2	6.8
			35-45	6.4	6.1	7.4	6.6	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.2
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.2	6.8	7.3	5.4	7.2	6.5	7.0	7.2
			35-45	6.2	6.9	7.8	5.7	6.8	7.7	7.3	7.1
		Male	18-25	5.9	6.0	7.2	5.8	7.0	5.8	6.2	6.0
			35-45	7.0	7.2	7.8	7.1	7.1	7.8	7.8	7.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.4	6.9	7.4	5.2	8.0	7.8	7.1	7.4
			35-45	5.2	6.5	7.4	5.6	7.7	7.3	7.2	6.6
		Male	18-25	6.2	7.3	7.6	5.5	7.6	7.0	6.8	7.5
			35-45	6.0	5.4	7.3	5.0	5.7	6.6	6.2	6.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.9	5.7	7.3	4.3	7.0	6.7	6.2	6.1
			35-45	6.8	5.9	7.2	6.1	7.3	7.1	6.8	6.8
		Male	18-25	6.3	5.1	6.2	5.5	5.6	6.1	5.9	6.2
			35-45	6.5	6.4	7.6	5.5	7.3	6.9	6.5	6.2

Table 56 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Happier	Buy Things Wanted	Pay Your Bills	Come to Work Daily	Save More Money	Do Your Best Work	Want to Get Ahead
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.1	5.7	8.3	7.8	7.0	7.7	7.4
			35-45	7.3	7.0	7.7	7.4	7.0	7.6	7.8
		Male	18-25	6.9	7.5	7.3	6.2	6.0	7.4	7.8
			35-45	7.1	7.0	7.7	7.5	6.5	7.8	8.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.3	6.2	7.5	7.1	6.6	6.3	7.6
			35-45	7.2	6.1	8.1	7.6	5.5	8.1	7.4
		Male	18-25	7.0	7.2	8.6	7.7	7.0	7.4	8.7
			35-45	6.9	8.0	7.4	6.2	6.0	6.7	8.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.9	7.2	7.6	7.5	5.0	7.1	7.2
			35-45	7.3	6.2	7.8	7.3	6.0	7.5	7.6
		Male	18-25	7.6	7.0	8.2	7.6	7.6	7.5	7.4
			35-45	7.4	6.1	7.0	6.9	6.3	7.2	7.5
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.0	6.6	7.6	7.5	6.6	7.7	7.9
			35-45	7.6	6.7	7.9	8.2	7.5	8.2	8.5
		Male	18-25	5.7	7.0	7.4	7.8	6.7	7.7	7.8
			35-45	8.0	7.2	8.4	8.6	7.3	8.3	8.5
	Working Class	Female	18-25	8.0	6.3	7.6	7.2	6.4	7.3	7.3
			35-45	7.7	6.2	7.9	7.9	6.1	7.9	8.0
		Male	18-25	7.6	7.0	8.0	7.8	7.5	7.5	8.1
			35-45	6.3	6.0	7.7	7.8	6.5	6.9	6.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.2	5.7	7.4	6.8	5.6	6.9	6.0
			35-45	6.5	6.5	7.7	7.5	5.5	6.6	6.8
		Male	18-25	6.2	5.5	6.5	6.8	5.2	5.6	5.6
			35-45	7.1	6.8	7.1	7.7	5.4	6.9	7.6

Table 56 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that blacks are more likely to see having a better place to live as a consequence of getting a good job, while whites are more likely to see having more responsibility and coming to work daily as results of having a good job. Variance unique to "enjoy working more", according to multivariate tests, show whites as more likely to see this as a consequence.

2. Main effect for socioeconomic status ($p < .0001$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate the hardcore is most likely to see as consequents of getting a good job--save more money and want to get ahead. The middle class is least likely to see these as consequents. Multivariate tests indicate the hardcore is most likely to view "feeling safe" as a consequence of getting a good job; the middle class is least likely. Univariate tests indicate the hardcore is most likely and the middle class least likely to view "do your best work" as consequents of getting a good job, but this shares a large amount of variance with "save more money."

3. Main effect for sex ($p < .0177$) -- Multivariate and univariate tests indicate that males are more likely to see being able to buy things you want as a consequence of having a good job. Multivariate tests show variance unique to being personally satisfied, with females more likely to see this as a consequence.

4. Main effect for age ($p < .0430$) -- Older persons (in the 35-45 age group) are more likely than younger persons to see getting a better place to live and enjoying working more as results of getting a good job according to both univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests indicate that older people are more likely to see "more responsibility" as a consequence of getting a good job.

Discussion of getting a good job. The older study seems to have tapped samples that were more disadvantaged than the new study. The result is that the older study revealed a difference in the extent to which the hardcore samples were making realistic connections between antecedents and consequents of getting a good jpb; this was observed to a reduced extent in the new data. A replicated finding, however, is that whites see a stronger connection between getting a good job and job satisfaction than do blacks. The hardcore of the present study seem to have a kind of "mental block" about work, due to a set of beliefs which connect rather high levels of ability, experience, valuable personality characteristics and social connections with getting a good job. The middle class sees weaker connections on those beliefs, and only a strong connection between ambition and a good job. This may reflect the environment (i.e., blacks must have these things to succeed in white society).

Getting a Bad Job

In the earlier study the hardcore blacks saw less connection between being lazy, being unskilled, being a high school dropout, not looking around much, being uninterested in the work, being unintelligent, acting as if you do not care about the job, living someplace where there is not much work, having a bad work record and being fired from another job and getting a bad job than was the case with other samples. In that study there was also a main effect ($p < .01$) for race on the consequents of getting a bad job. Specifically, the blacks were more likely to say that if you get a bad job you do not have enough money for the things you need and you buy more liquor than was the case with the whites; conversely the whites were more likely to say you look for a better job, you don't enjoy your work, you are bored with the job and you do not get along with the boss than were the blacks.

In the present study we obtained a reliable race effect ($p < .001$) for the antecedents. The whites were more likely to say that being lazy, not wanting to get ahead and acting like you do not care are likely to lead to a bad job than was the case for blacks. Being unskilled is seen by the blacks as a stronger antecedent of a bad job than by the whites. The hardcore are more likely to see a connection between being dumb and getting a bad job. Being uninterested is seen as connected to a bad job by the older white hardcore ($p < .05$). The younger black hardcore are most likely to see a connection between not knowing what to do and getting a bad job. Details can be seen in Table 57.

The consequents also show a race effect ($p < .0002$) with blacks seeing having to work harder as a consequent of a bad job to a greater extent than whites. Whites see again a strong connection between job quality and satisfaction--bad job means low satisfaction. A dependable social class effect ($p < .001$) shows the middle class most likely to see a strong connection and the hardcore least likely between a bad job and not enjoying your work, not doing your best at work and making excuses to friends. The middle class is more likely to look for a better job than the hardcore; the hardcore sees working harder as a consequence to a greater extent than the middle class. The middle class sees not being happy at home as a consequence of a bad job, but the other classes do not.

Males are likely to see low pay, buying more liquor and not getting along with the boss as a consequent ($p < .0007$) of a bad job to a greater extent than females. Details are shown in Table 58.

Discussion of getting a bad job. Whites seem to see motivational antecedents of a bad job, while blacks see structural (e.g., unskilled) and environmental antecedents. The hardcore samples, both black and white, seem

Table 57

Antecedents of To Get A Bad Job

Independent Variables				Be Lazy	Be Unskilled	Be High School Dropout	Not Look Much	Be Uninterested	Be Dumb	Act Like Don't Care	Live Where Not Much Work
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.1	5.5	5.1	4.3	6.0	4.5	4.2	4.9
			35-45	3.4	5.2	5.5	4.4	5.4	5.8	5.5	4.6
		Male	18-25	4.0	5.9	5.7	5.3	6.0	5.0	5.8	4.8
			35-45	4.5	6.5	6.2	5.9	4.9	6.2	5.3	5.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	3.9	4.9	5.1	4.9	4.0	4.1	3.8	4.0
			35-45	3.7	5.0	5.2	5.4	5.1	4.5	4.4	5.0
		Male	18-25	6.2	6.7	6.3	6.8	6.4	4.6	4.3	4.4
			35-45	4.3	6.4	6.1	5.9	5.6	5.6	5.9	5.1
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.4	5.4	4.7	5.3	5.5	4.2	5.1	3.9
			35-45	3.6	5.6	4.8	4.6	5.4	3.9	4.0	5.3
		Male	18-25	1.8	5.0	4.5	3.7	4.5	2.6	3.9	4.6
			35-45	4.9	4.9	5.5	5.6	5.4	4.9	4.3	5.5
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.9	5.1	5.2	5.8	6.1	3.8	5.6	5.6
			35-45	5.8	6.0	5.7	5.4	5.5	5.9	5.9	5.2
		Male	18-25	5.1	5.8	4.3	5.2	4.7	4.5	5.6	3.6
			35-45	5.0	5.6	5.7	5.5	6.8	5.4	5.2	5.5
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.6	5.9	5.9	4.9	5.3	4.8	5.7	4.2
			35-45	4.8	5.0	4.8	6.4	5.5	5.7	6.4	5.8
		Male	18-25	6.1	6.2	5.9	6.4	6.9	5.4	6.8	5.7
			35-45	5.9	5.5	5.3	5.6	5.4	5.2	4.9	5.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.9	4.8	5.7	5.1	5.4	3.8	4.8	5.2
			35-45	4.2	5.0	4.5	4.3	6.0	3.5	5.6	4.3
		Male	18-25	4.1	4.9	4.5	5.3	5.0	3.8	5.3	5.0
			35-45	4.2	4.6	5.6	5.7	4.7	3.8	4.6	5.6

Table 57 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Bad Work Record	Be Strong	Not Have Worked Much	Not Want to Get Ahead	Fired From Other Job	Take First Job Offered	Not Know What Want to do
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.2	2.3	4.0	3.9	4.1	4.2	5.3
			35-45	5.6	2.2	3.9	4.6	3.5	3.6	4.0
		Male	18-25	5.7	2.7	4.4	5.2	4.7	4.6	5.7
			35-45	4.1	3.0	4.3	4.6	4.1	3.9	3.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.8	1.9	2.7	2.7	3.7	4.5	4.3
			35-45	5.1	2.4	3.6	4.3	3.1	2.1	3.9
		Male	18-25	6.0	1.5	3.6	4.5	4.1	4.3	5.3
			35-45	5.4	2.0	4.7	4.6	3.6	4.8	5.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.6	1.7	3.5	4.5	3.6	4.8	4.6
			35-45	5.1	2.3	3.6	4.7	4.5	3.8	4.9
		Male	18-25	3.9	1.3	2.9	3.6	3.9	3.1	3.6
			35-45	5.5	2.4	3.9	4.4	4.9	4.8	5.4
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.9	0.9	5.3	5.9	4.8	2.2	4.3
			35-45	6.2	1.6	3.9	5.0	4.0	3.0	5.2
		Male	18-25	4.2	2.2	3.9	4.9	3.6	4.1	4.4
			35-45	6.2	2.5	5.0	5.0	4.6	6.1	5.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.5	1.6	3.5	5.4	3.7	3.6	4.5
			35-45	6.0	2.4	3.3	5.8	5.5	4.4	4.9
		Male	18-25	7.6	1.7	4.3	6.4	5.4	4.3	5.4
			35-45	5.8	1.7	3.3	6.3	5.5	4.1	4.4
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.7	2.5	4.1	4.1	4.2	4.1	4.2
			35-45	5.7	1.5	3.3	4.2	3.6	3.2	3.9
		Male	18-25	5.1	3.2	4.3	4.4	5.1	4.3	5.2
			35-45	6.0	3.1	5.0	4.8	4.9	4.3	4.7

Table 57 (Continued)

1. Contrast for race ($p < .0039$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show that whites are more likely than blacks to see being lazy, acting like you don't care and not wanting to get ahead as leading to a bad job. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "being unskilled" indicates the blacks are more likely to see this as a factor in leading to a bad job.

2. Contrast for socioeconomic status ($p < .0504$) -- According to both univariate and multivariate tests, members of the hardcore are most likely to see being dumb as leading to a bad job, followed closely by working-class members. Members of the middle class are much less likely to see this as leading to a bad job.

3. Contract for race x socioeconomic status x age ($p < .0518$) -- Multivariate tests indicate variance unique to "be uninterested." Older white hardcore members are most likely to see this as necessary to get a bad job; younger black middle class are least likely to see this. Variance unique to "act like don't care" shows that younger white working-class members are most likely to view this as a prerequisite to getting a bad job; younger working-class blacks are least likely. Whites of each age and socioeconomic status are more likely than their black counterparts to view this as being the case. Variance unique to "fired from other job" shows older, working-class whites as most likely to see this as leading to getting a bad job; older, working-class blacks are least likely to see this. Univariate tests indicate that younger, black hardcore members are most likely to see not knowing what to do as leading to a bad job; older hardcore blacks least likely. This is related to "fired from other job."

Table 58

Consequents of If You Get a Bad Job, You...

Independent Variables				Quit	Look for Better	Get Low Pay	Can't Buy Things Wanted	Don't Have Money for Needs	Have to Work Harder	Buy More Liquor	Don't Enjoy Your Work
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.4	6.7	4.0	4.1	4.8	6.0	2.7	4.1
			35-45	6.4	7.7	5.3	3.8	6.1	7.2	1.3	4.1
		Male	18-25	5.8	7.1	6.9	5.3	4.6	6.5	2.5	5.1
			35-45	4.8	7.2	5.2	6.1	6.3	6.2	2.7	6.1
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.6	6.9	6.0	5.5	6.0	5.5	1.9	4.4
			35-45	6.0	7.0	5.0	3.8	5.3	5.5	0.9	4.2
		Male	18-25	5.8	8.1	6.3	6.2	7.0	6.8	3.7	5.0
			35-45	5.2	7.3	5.6	5.4	4.6	6.8	1.0	6.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.5	7.5	5.4	5.8	5.2	4.4	3.4	5.5
			35-45	4.8	8.4	6.7	6.0	5.0	5.8	1.7	6.0
		Male	18-25	6.9	8.8	7.0	6.2	6.0	5.9	2.3	7.6
			35-45	5.8	7.6	6.7	6.5	7.0	6.3	2.6	4.6
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.2	7.5	6.2	6.0	4.2	5.1	1.0	6.6
			35-45	4.9	7.5	5.1	5.5	5.1	5.6	1.8	6.2
		Male	18-25	5.0	7.3	5.5	6.1	5.8	5.3	3.5	5.5
			35-45	7.0	7.9	5.8	5.4	5.3	5.8	3.6	5.1
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.1	8.0	4.9	5.3	5.0	4.3	1.8	6.0
			35-45	5.9	7.2	6.4	6.0	5.2	6.0	8.0	5.2
		Male	18-25	7.1	8.2	7.1	6.8	6.0	5.2	2.6	7.0
			35-45	6.7	6.9	6.0	5.8	6.3	5.5	3.3	6.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.4	7.1	5.1	4.7	4.7	5.2	1.4	7.4
			35-45	5.8	7.9	4.9	5.6	4.9	3.6	1.9	6.6
		Male	18-25	5.0	6.9	6.6	6.2	4.0	5.0	2.7	7.0
			35-45	6.1	8.0	6.7	6.2	5.6	5.5	3.0	7.3

Table 58 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Don't Do Your Best Work	Skip Work Often	Bored With Job	Don't Get Along W/Boss	Make Excuses to Friends	Don't Care if You Get Ahead	Not Happy at Home
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	4.5	3.6	5.8	4.9	2.2	4.5	5.0
			35-45	5.1	4.4	6.8	5.2	4.7	5.6	5.0
		Male	18-25	5.2	4.8	5.9	5.1	4.3	4.0	4.2
			35-45	5.4	3.5	5.8	4.6	3.2	3.6	5.5
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.0	4.1	6.1	3.6	3.3	4.0	3.0
			35-45	3.7	4.8	6.5	4.1	2.7	2.8	4.2
		Male	18-25	3.8	4.3	5.7	4.5	5.6	4.3	4.8
			35-45	5.3	4.1	6.3	4.3	3.0	4.5	3.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	5.7	5.0	6.6	4.9	5.1	4.4	4.5
			35-45	5.3	4.6	7.3	4.3	4.8	2.6	4.7
		Male	18-25	6.9	6.2	7.2	6.6	4.6	5.4	5.3
			35-45	5.5	5.0	6.4	5.9	5.6	4.3	6.6
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.5	5.2	6.9	5.4	3.7	4.8	3.9
			35-45	6.0	5.6	6.9	4.5	4.1	4.6	4.9
		Male	18-25	4.0	4.4	6.2	4.1	3.9	3.0	4.3
			35-45	4.7	3.7	5.2	5.0	4.2	4.5	4.3
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.1	6.1	6.8	5.1	4.8	4.9	3.7
			35-45	4.8	4.1	6.1	4.0	5.1	4.6	5.9
		Male	18-25	6.4	4.9	6.0	6.1	4.1	4.6	4.1
			35-45	6.0	5.1	6.2	5.7	4.7	4.5	4.4
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.0	4.1	6.1	5.3	3.7	3.7	5.6
			35-45	6.1	4.6	6.9	4.5	4.2	3.8	4.2
		Male	18-25	7.0	4.6	7.0	5.2	4.3	4.2	4.7
			35-45	7.2	5.5	7.2	5.9	5.7	5.4	6.3

Table 58 (Continued)

1. Contrast for race ($p < .0002$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests reveal that blacks are more likely to see having to work harder as a consequence of getting a bad job, and whites are more likely to see not enjoying their work as a result. Multivariate tests indicate variance unique to not having money to cover needs--with blacks more likely to see this as a result. Univariate tests show that whites are more likely to see not doing their best at work as a result of not getting a good job, but the significance is removed by item 8--not enjoying your work.

2. Contrast for socioeconomic status ($p < .0010$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that the middle class is most likely to see not enjoying your work, not doing your best at work, and making excuses to friends as consequents of getting a bad job, while the hardcore is least likely to do so for these same items, except for "not doing best at work" for which the working class is least likely to see this as a result. Multivariate tests show variance unique to look for better job--the middle class most likely and the hardcore least likely to see this as a result of getting a bad job. Also the hardcore is most likely to see having to work harder as a consequence, the middle class least likely. Univariate tests show the middle class as most likely to see not being happy at home as a result of having a bad job (the working class the least), but the significance is removed by making excuses to friends.

3. Contrast for sex ($p < .0007$) -- According to both univariate and multivariate tests, males are more likely than females to see getting low pay, buying more liquor and not getting along with the boss as results of getting a bad job. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "bored with Job"--with females more likely to give this as a consequence. Univariate tests show males more likely to see can't buy things wanted, not enough money for needs and having to work harder as results of getting a bad job--they are related to getting low pay, however.

to see a connection between intelligence and quality of job. The consequents are showing a clear connection between quality of job and job satisfaction for the whites, but not as strong a connection for the blacks.

To Get Along with Your Boss

The old data show a race main effect ($p < .002$) according to which the blacks tend to say that to get along with your boss you have to do good work, show interest in your work, and have a good job. The whites are more likely to emphasize that you have to be a reliable worker, pay attention to him and laugh at his jokes. A comparison of the two high school samples shows the blacks more likely to say that you have to be friendly to him, do good work, be reliable, be ambitious, agree with his ideas, pay attention to him and be yourself; the whites are more likely to emphasize that to get along with your boss you have to really like him.

In the new data we obtained no race effect. A reliable ($p < .0002$) social class effect shows the hardcore emphasizing being ambitious and agreeing with his ideas as antecedents of getting along with the boss. Males are more extreme than females in seeing working overtime, correcting the boss and doing as you are told as leading to getting along with the boss ($p < .0001$). Older workers are more likely ($p < .0001$) than younger workers to see a connection between showing interest in the job, paying attention to the boss and being yourself and getting along with the boss. Details may be seen in Table 59.

The old data show a barely reliable ($p < .04$) race effect for the consequents. Specifically, the blacks see getting along with the boss as leading to doing better work and doing what he asks; the whites are more likely to say that you get help with the job when you need it. The new data gave a marginal race effect ($p < .06$) according to which blacks are more

Table 59

Antecedents of To Get Along with Your Boss

Independent Variables				Be Friendly	Do Good Work	Be Reliable	Be Ambitious	Agree With His Ideas	Work Overtime	Show Respect For Him
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.0	6.7	7.5	8.8	5.4	4.2	7.5
			35-45	5.3	8.6	8.2	7.5	5.1	3.6	7.6
		Male	18-25	6.4	7.8	8.0	7.7	5.2	4.0	7.5
			35-45	6.0	8.2	8.1	8.3	6.0	5.0	7.4
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.2	7.5	8.1	6.8	3.8	2.6	6.9
			35-45	5.3	7.7	7.7	7.4	5.4	3.2	6.5
		Male	18-25	6.1	7.6	7.4	7.5	4.5	4.3	6.6
			35-45	6.2	8.2	7.9	7.6	4.4	4.5	7.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.5	8.0	8.5	8.1	3.9	3.1	8.0
			35-45	6.3	7.7	7.4	6.2	4.6	2.8	7.0
		Male	18-25	5.9	7.3	7.5	7.4	4.6	3.4	6.5
			35-45	6.6	7.5	7.9	7.7	5.7	4.3	7.3
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.7	8.1	8.2	8.0	4.7	4.1	6.7
			35-45	6.6	7.8	8.1	7.7	4.6	4.0	8.1
		Male	18-25	6.8	7.9	8.2	8.0	5.3	4.2	6.3
			35-45	6.5	8.1	7.8	8.2	6.3	6.3	7.2
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.5	8.1	8.0	8.0	4.3	3.2	7.8
			35-45	5.4	8.0	8.3	7.9	4.8	2.9	7.2
		Male	18-25	6.0	7.6	7.6	7.3	4.4	3.9	6.7
			35-45	7.1	7.7	8.0	7.7	4.7	5.2	7.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.4	7.3	7.6	5.5	5.5	4.6	7.3
			35-45	5.9	7.7	7.3	7.3	5.2	4.1	7.9
		Male	18-25	6.9	7.0	7.3	6.5	6.0	5.2	6.8
			35-45	6.4	7.4	7.7	7.1	5.8	4.1	7.6

Table 59 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Correct Him	Do as Told	Show Interest in Job	Have Good Job	Pay Attention to Him	Really Like Him	Laugh at his Jokes	Be Self
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.5	7.5	7.8	6.3	6.8	5.8	4.2	8.1
			35-45	3.8	7.5	7.9	5.6	7.8	6.8	4.3	8.3
		Male	18-25	6.3	7.5	7.3	6.2	7.6	5.5	3.7	6.9
			35-45	4.2	8.2	8.2	7.4	8.0	4.9	3.4	7.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	3.9	7.0	6.7	4.8	4.8	4.6	2.7	7.7
			35-45	4.0	6.2	6.6	4.7	6.7	4.8	3.8	8.5
		Male	18-25	4.2	7.0	7.2	4.4	6.2	4.5	3.8	8.1
			35-45	4.6	7.8	8.5	6.2	7.6	5.6	3.5	9.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	3.9	7.8	7.8	3.9	6.8	4.9	4.1	7.3
			35-45	4.3	7.4	8.0	4.3	7.3	4.9	5.1	8.0
		Male	18-25	3.5	7.2	6.5	4.0	6.3	4.7	3.2	6.6
			35-45	3.9	7.9	7.6	5.6	7.1	5.3	4.8	7.2
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	3.7	7.7	7.7	4.2	6.6	5.6	4.6	7.2
			35-45	2.4	8.0	7.9	5.6	7.2	6.6	4.3	7.8
		Male	18-25	4.3	8.0	7.4	3.3	8.3	6.8	4.2	7.6
			35-45	4.2	8.1	7.8	6.0	8.2	6.7	4.8	6.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	3.1	8.1	8.0	4.3	6.9	5.9	3.7	8.2
			35-45	4.0	7.2	7.7	4.9	7.7	5.1	2.9	8.8
		Male	18-25	4.3	8.1	7.1	4.8	6.7	3.8	3.4	7.1
			35-45	4.1	8.0	7.4	4.6	7.3	4.7	3.9	8.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	3.1	7.5	6.3	5.0	5.6	4.8	5.0	5.2
			35-45	3.5	6.9	7.3	4.4	6.5	5.1	3.1	7.5
		Male	18-25	4.5	7.7	6.1	4.6	6.7	4.4	5.1	5.2
			35-45	4.4	7.6	7.7	5.6	6.8	5.3	4.2	7.8

Table 59 (Continued)

1. Contrast for socioeconomic status ($p < .0002$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests show that members of the hardcore are most likely to see being ambitious as a means to get along with the boss; middle class members the least likely. Hardcore members are also most likely to see agreeing with the boss' ideas as a way to get along with him while members of the working class would be least likely to see this as a good means. Members of the working class are most likely to view being yourself as a means to get along with the boss; members of the middle class would be least likely. Univariate tests show the working class as most likely to see pay attention to him as necessary to get along with the boss; the hardcore the least likely. This shares the most variance with "agree with his ideas." Also, the hardcore is most likely to see "really like him" as necessary to get along; the working class is least likely to do so. This item is related to preceding items. The middle class is most likely to see "laugh at his jokes" as necessary to getting along with the boss; the working class is least likely to view this as necessary--shares variance with "agree with his ideas."

2. Contrast for sex ($p < .0001$) -- Multivariate and univariate tests both indicate that males are more likely than females to see working overtime, correcting the boss and doing as told as ways to get along with the boss. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "show respect for him" with females more likely to see this as a way to get along with the boss. Univariate tests show males more likely to see paying attention to the boss as a way to get along but this shares variance with "doing as told."

3. Contrast for age ($p < .0001$) -- According to both univariate and multivariate tests, older workers are more likely than younger workers to see showing interest in the job, paying attention to the boss, and being yourself as ways to get along with the boss. Multivariate tests indicate older people are more likely to see doing good work as a means of getting along with the boss. Univariate tests show older people feel that having a good job is a way to get along with the boss, but this appears to share variance with showing interest in the job.

4. Contrast for race x socioeconomic status ($p < .0626$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests show that black hardcore members are most likely to see having a good job as a way to get along with the boss. Members of the black middle class are least likely to agree with this view. For whites, the middle class is most likely to hold this perception. Multivariate tests indicate that variance unique to agreeing with your boss--the white middle class is most likely to see this as necessary to getting along with the boss; the black working class is least likely to see this. In both races, the working class is least likely to see this as necessary to get along with the boss.

Table 59 (Continued)

5. Contrast for sex x age ($p < .0570$) -- Multivariate tests show variance unique to working overtime--older males are most likely to see this as necessary to get along with the boss, with younger males next and older females least likely to see this. Older males are also most likely to see paying attention to the boss as necessary to get along with him, older females are next and young females are least likely to view this as necessary. Univariate tests show older males most likely to view doing as told as necessary to get along with the boss, but the item shares much variance with showing respect for him.

likely to see not getting along with other workers as a consequent of getting along with the boss. A sex main effect ($p < .0001$) shows females more than males indicating that being able to come to work later, going places together and inviting the boss to your place are consequents. A main effect for age ($p < .02$) involves trying not to let him down and doing what he asks you to do as consequents. Details are shown in Table 60.

Discussion of getting along with the boss. It seems unlikely that there is a strong race effect for either the antecedents or the consequents of this concept. The hardcore seem less realistic about their judgments than the other samples. The interesting tendency of the blacks of the present study to see a connection between not getting along with the other workers and getting along with the boss suggests a good deal of perceived discrepancy between worker and company goals.

To Have Good Friends

The old data showed a reliable ($p < .0002$) tendency for the whites to emphasize more than the blacks the importance of being honest, being a good friend to others, being helpful, listening to the ideas of others, going places with others, keeping the secrets of others, being able to share what you have, and respecting them; blacks emphasized more than whites the idea that to have good friends you have to have money. The consequents obtained in the old study showed the whites emphasizing that if you have good friends you have someone to help you if you need it, you have someone to do things together, you have fun, you help them if they need it, you trust them, you feel safe, you feel good, you share what you have, you are loyal to them, and you are not lonely; the blacks emphasize that if you have good friends you get into trouble together more than do the whites.

Table 60

Consequents of If You Get Along With Your Boss, You...

Independent Variables				Get Better Pay	Get to Work Later	Go Places Together	Invite Him to Your Place	Better Work Conditions	Enjoy Your Work More	Get Help When Need it
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	3.8	1.8	2.4	2.1	4.7	6.1	4.7
			35-45	4.7	2.3	2.1	1.4	5.3	6.7	6.4
		Male	18-25	4.3	2.4	4.2	3.7	4.9	7.0	6.7
			35-45	4.4	2.6	2.6	2.6	5.3	6.1	7.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	3.5	2.7	2.0	2.0	4.2	5.4	5.8
			35-45	3.4	1.8	1.9	1.6	3.7	6.0	6.2
		Male	18-25	6.0	4.1	3.8	3.2	5.2	6.1	6.1
			35-45	5.5	3.3	4.1	4.0	5.8	6.3	6.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.2	3.0	3.4	2.2	3.8	7.2	6.7
			35-45	4.5	1.8	2.3	2.0	4.3	6.2	6.4
		Male	18-25	3.9	3.1	4.0	3.8	5.1	6.3	6.4
			35-45	4.0	2.8	4.1	3.7	4.4	6.6	5.6
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	3.2	2.5	2.7	1.9	4.0	7.5	7.1
			35-45	5.3	2.5	1.6	1.3	5.1	7.3	6.5
		Male	18-25	3.6	2.5	3.1	3.6	3.7	5.7	5.9
			35-45	5.7	3.0	3.7	3.6	5.8	6.0	5.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	4.4	1.4	1.7	2.2	4.7	7.8	7.7
			35-45	3.6	1.5	1.6	1.6	3.8	6.7	6.1
		Male	18-25	3.7	2.5	2.2	2.7	3.6	6.2	6.2
			35-45	3.4	3.0	3.0	2.7	3.8	6.9	6.2
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	4.3	2.7	2.8	3.0	3.7	6.8	6.0
			35-45	4.1	2.6	3.0	2.8	3.7	6.7	6.9
		Male	18-25	4.0	2.8	3.0	3.0	4.3	5.6	6.2
			35-45	4.4	2.7	3.5	3.5	5.0	7.4	6.9

Table 60 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Do Better Work	Feel He Respects you	Try Not to Let Him Down	Get Ahead Faster	Don't Get Along With Other Workers	Feel More Confident at Work	Do What He Asks	Can Talk About Problems
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.0	7.0	6.7	5.2	4.4	6.6	6.6	4.8
			35-45	7.6	7.5	7.8	6.8	3.3	7.3	7.7	6.3
		Male	18-25	7.6	6.9	6.7	6.3	4.1	7.0	7.5	5.9
			35-45	7.8	6.7	7.8	6.2	3.6	7.5	7.4	4.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.3	5.9	6.4	4.4	2.9	5.5	6.9	4.3
			35-45	6.6	5.9	7.0	5.1	3.4	5.3	7.3	4.0
		Male	18-25	6.6	6.1	5.9	6.4	3.4	5.2	5.5	5.9
			35-45	7.0	7.2	8.1	7.1	3.2	7.3	7.9	5.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.2	6.5	6.1	6.2	2.9	6.7	7.8	4.9
			35-45	6.5	6.8	7.5	6.3	2.3	5.9	6.9	4.4
		Male	18-25	6.6	6.0	6.8	5.8	3.4	6.8	6.7	4.6
			35-45	7.0	6.8	7.5	6.3	2.5	6.9	7.6	6.0
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.9	8.0	7.8	6.7	2.2	7.4	7.5	4.4
			35-45	7.5	7.2	7.8	6.1	1.3	6.8	7.7	5.0
		Male	18-25	6.3	5.6	6.4	5.0	3.2	5.5	6.1	3.1
			35-45	6.9	7.4	7.5	6.7	2.9	7.0	7.6	5.3
	Working Class	Female	18-25	8.2	7.6	7.9	5.9	1.1	7.4	7.6	5.2
			35-45	7.7	7.3	7.6	6.7	2.8	7.3	7.8	5.8
		Male	18-25	6.6	6.3	7.3	6.0	2.9	7.1	7.2	5.4
			35-45	6.7	7.0	7.4	5.2	2.4	5.8	7.3	6.1
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.9	6.9	6.6	4.8	2.5	7.0	6.4	5.2
			35-45	7.1	7.1	7.2	5.9	2.8	6.6	7.2	5.3
		Male	18-25	5.5	5.4	5.9	5.8	2.6	5.6	6.5	4.3
			35-45	7.4	7.1	7.4	6.1	3.4	7.8	7.9	5.3

Table 60 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0597$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show blacks are more likely to see as a consequence of getting along with your boss that you don't get along with other workers. Multivariate tests indicate that whites see enjoying your work more as a consequence of getting along with your boss, more than blacks do.

2. Main effect for sex ($p < .0001$) -- Based on both univariate and multivariate tests males are more likely than females to see as consequences of getting along with the boss--being able to get to work later, going places together and inviting the boss to your place.
Univariate tests show that females are more likely to see "feel the boss respects you" as a consequence of getting along, but its significance is removed by sharing variance with preceding items.

3. Main effect for age ($p < .0156$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests both reveal that older persons are more likely than younger persons to see trying not to let the boss down and doing what he asks as consequences of getting along with him. Multivariate tests show variance unique to "feel he respects you", with older workers seeing this as a consequence.

4. Race x socioeconomic status x sex x age ($p < .0396$) -- The three significant items are "get ahead faster," "feel more confident at work", and "do what he asks", which were all shown on both univariate and multivariate tests.

The new data reveal a dependable race effect ($p < .002$) according to which whites emphasize that listening to their ideas is necessary to have good friends; blacks again emphasize having money and being smart as antecedents. A trend ($p < .06$) shows the hardcore emphasizing the importance of going to lots of places as an antecedent. Older people emphasize more than younger people ($p < .0004$) the importance of being reliable, keeping secrets and having money as antecedents of having good friends.

The new data has a dependable race effect ($p < .0001$) also for the consequents. Whites emphasize trusting them, being loyal to them, not being lonely and depending on them to a greater extent than do blacks. A social class contrast ($p < .006$) shows that the middle class is most likely to indicate that having good friends results in trusting them, in not being lonely, and the hardcore emphasizing being proud of yourself and getting respect.

There is a trend ($p < .04$) for females to see helping them as a consequent of having good friends to a greater extent than males. There is a reliable tendency ($p < .003$) for the young to emphasize getting into trouble together with good friends, and the older samples to emphasize feeling good. A dependable interaction ($p < .007$) shows that the young, middle-class blacks are particularly likely to see doing things together as a consequence of having good friends. The young, middle-class blacks are most likely and the old, working-class blacks are least likely to indicate that having good friends leads to getting into trouble together. Details are seen in Tables 61 and 62.

Discussion of having good friends. There appears to be an emphasis in the importance of good personal characteristics as means to friendship in the white samples and money in the black. Whites emphasize mutual help and trust and young blacks mention getting into trouble together as consequents.

Table 61

Antecedents of To Have Good Friends

Independent Variables				Be Reliable	Be Honest	Be Good Friend to Others	Be Respected	Be Loyal	Be Helpful	Listen to their Ideas
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.5	7.9	7.8	6.9	6.7	7.1	6.7
			35-45	7.9	8.7	7.9	7.6	8.3	7.7	7.3
		Male	18-25	7.5	7.1	7.9	7.6	6.7	7.0	6.9
			35-45	7.8	8.2	8.1	7.1	6.8	6.9	5.2
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.0	7.2	7.6	6.9	7.2	7.6	6.4
			35-45	7.7	7.6	7.7	7.8	7.1	6.9	6.3
		Male	18-25	6.1	6.6	7.4	7.3	7.3	7.2	6.1
			35-45	7.9	8.1	8.3	8.2	7.8	7.9	7.7
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.2	8.2	8.0	7.4	8.0	7.3	6.3
			35-45	7.2	7.5	7.7	7.5	8.3	7.2	6.8
		Male	18-25	6.6	7.2	7.0	6.8	7.1	7.3	6.5
			35-45	7.9	8.1	8.4	7.4	7.4	7.9	7.2
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.7	8.3	8.3	7.9	8.4	7.9	8.6
			35-45	7.3	7.2	6.9	7.3	7.6	7.8	7.1
		Male	18-25	7.6	8.3	7.5	7.0	7.2	7.3	6.5
			35-45	8.1	7.8	7.8	6.9	7.3	7.6	7.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.7	8.4	7.9	7.2	7.4	8.0	7.7
			35-45	7.3	7.8	8.1	8.0	8.6	7.7	6.9
		Male	18-25	7.3	7.7	7.7	7.1	7.6	7.6	7.5
			35-45	8.2	8.2	8.1	7.8	8.3	8.2	7.5
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.2	7.0	8.0	7.2	7.4	7.3	7.4
			35-45	7.4	8.1	7.9	7.0	7.9	7.6	7.7
		Male	18-25	6.7	7.5	7.4	6.6	7.0	7.2	7.7
			35-45	7.1	7.4	7.6	6.3	7.6	6.3	6.6

Table 61 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Choose Friends Wisely	Go to Lot of Places	Keep Others' Secrets	Be Smart	Do Things For Them	Have Money	Share What You Have	Respect Them
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.3	4.3	7.9	6.1	4.8	3.3	5.1	7.1
			35-45	8.2	3.3	8.3	5.2	4.2	3.5	5.6	8.6
		Male	18-25	7.2	5.9	6.3	6.4	5.5	3.5	5.1	7.1
			35-45	7.6	5.0	7.4	5.9	4.7	4.4	4.6	7.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.5	4.4	6.7	4.5	4.6	2.1	4.3	7.4
			35-45	6.4	3.0	8.0	4.1	3.3	2.8	4.8	8.0
		Male	18-25	7.2	4.1	6.1	3.9	3.9	2.3	5.6	7.3
			35-45	8.0	4.6	6.8	4.9	5.1	3.8	4.5	7.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.6	4.1	8.2	3.5	4.6	2.9	5.0	8.2
			35-45	8.1	3.0	7.8	4.5	4.2	2.3	5.4	8.7
		Male	18-25	6.5	4.6	6.0	2.3	5.5	1.9	6.1	7.4
			35-45	8.0	4.1	7.9	4.9	5.2	3.8	5.4	8.0
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.0	5.1	6.4	3.7	5.4	1.6	5.6	8.3
			35-45	7.1	4.5	8.0	3.8	5.8	3.1	5.8	7.1
		Male	18-25	7.1	5.1	7.6	4.5	4.8	2.0	6.1	7.6
			35-45	7.1	6.1	7.6	4.8	6.2	3.5	6.4	8.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.7	4.7	6.5	3.4	5.1	2.1	5.7	7.7
			35-45	7.8	3.7	8.2	3.7	4.2	1.5	5.0	7.8
		Male	18-25	7.6	4.3	7.5	3.9	4.6	2.7	5.1	8.0
			35-45	6.8	4.8	7.4	3.7	4.4	3.3	5.2	7.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.3	3.9	6.5	3.1	5.1	2.4	6.8	7.9
			35-45	7.0	4.6	7.8	3.4	4.8	2.0	5.5	7.6
		Male	18-25	6.1	4.6	6.3	4.0	5.7	2.1	6.7	7.5
			35-45	7.1	3.9	7.5	3.7	4.4	2.5	4.5	7.9

Table 61 (Continued)

1. Main effect for race ($p < .0022$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests reveal that whites are more likely to see listening to their ideas as necessary to have good friends; blacks are more likely to see being smart as needed to have good friends. Univariate tests show blacks more likely to feel you have to have money to have good friends. There is common variance though shared with being smart.

2. Main effect for socioeconomic status ($p < .0606$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that members of the hardcore are most likely to see going to lots of places and being smart as necessary to have good friends; members of the middle class are least likely to hold this view, with working class members in the middle, but closer to the middle class view. Univariate analyses show hardcore members as viewing doing things for them as a means to having good friends; this shares common variance with going places and being smart.

3. Main effect for age ($p < .0004$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that older persons are more likely than younger persons to view the following as necessary to having good friends: being reliable, keeping secrets, and having money. Univariate tests indicate that older people are also more likely to see being loyal as necessary to having good friends, but the significance is removed by common variance with the preceding variables.

Table 62

Consequents of If You Have Good Friends, You...

Independent Variables				Have Help	Do Things To-gether	Have Fun	Help Them	Give Things to Each Other	Trust Them	Feel Safe	Feel Good	Proud of Self
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.5	6.2	7.3	7.2	6.4	5.7	5.7	5.9	7.4
			35-45	6.6	6.4	6.7	7.4	6.4	7.3	7.1	7.4	7.1
		Male	18-25	7.1	7.2	8.0	7.6	6.5	7.2	6.9	6.5	7.5
			35-45	7.0	6.9	6.9	6.2	6.2	6.5	5.8	6.8	5.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.1	6.4	7.5	8.0	6.6	6.6	6.0	7.1	5.9
			35-45	7.0	6.9	7.0	8.4	6.1	7.0	6.1	6.8	4.9
		Male	18-25	7.3	7.2	7.4	7.4	6.8	6.6	7.3	7.1	7.4
			35-45	6.8	8.1	7.7	8.2	6.9	7.3	7.8	7.7	7.1
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.0	7.4	7.9	8.2	5.8	8.0	7.7	6.9	6.4
			35-45	7.7	6.9	7.3	7.9	7.1	7.9	7.3	7.3	6.0
		Male	18-25	8.2	7.9	8.0	8.3	7.8	8.0	8.0	7.8	6.8
			35-45	7.1	6.3	6.9	7.5	5.9	7.5	6.5	7.0	6.7
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.3	7.2	7.7	8.0	6.8	7.7	7.3	7.7	7.0
			35-45	7.8	6.9	7.2	8.0	7.1	7.6	7.1	7.4	6.9
		Male	18-25	6.7	7.2	7.1	7.4	6.3	6.9	6.4	6.3	5.3
			35-45	6.8	8.2	7.6	8.1	7.0	8.1	7.7	7.6	6.7
	Working Class	Female	18-25	8.1	7.9	7.4	8.0	6.3	7.9	6.8	7.4	6.3
			35-45	7.7	6.6	7.1	8.0	5.9	7.7	6.7	8.0	6.7
		Male	18-25	7.2	7.2	7.3	7.6	6.6	7.9	7.2	7.6	7.3
			35-45	7.2	6.7	7.3	7.7	6.7	7.4	7.0	7.3	6.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	8.2	7.7	7.7	8.0	6.3	8.0	7.2	7.9	5.9
			35-45	7.4	7.8	7.8	7.7	7.2	8.1	7.8	8.2	6.4
		Male	18-25	7.4	7.1	6.9	7.6	6.6	7.4	7.0	6.7	6.0
			35-45	7.2	6.8	7.1	7.4	5.9	7.3	7.2	7.4	6.3

Table 62 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Share What You Have	Loyal to Them	Aren't Lonely	Get Respect	Get in Trouble Together	Depend on Them
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.3	6.4	2.8	6.6	2.2	3.2
			35-45	7.3	7.8	5.8	7.1	2.0	4.7
		Male	18-25	7.0	7.2	6.8	7.1	4.2	4.7
			35-45	5.3	6.1	4.7	6.4	3.6	3.9
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.0	7.0	4.9	6.6	2.8	4.3
			35-45	6.6	7.7	4.7	6.0	1.6	4.0
		Male	18-25	7.2	6.9	4.0	6.2	4.3	4.2
			35-45	7.5	7.2	3.7	6.7	1.5	4.6
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.5	7.6	6.6	6.8	4.1	4.9
			35-45	7.4	7.3	4.8	7.2	2.0	3.6
		Male	18-25	7.3	7.9	7.9	7.5	5.6	5.6
			35-45	6.2	7.5	6.1	7.1	1.9	4.8
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.8	7.6	7.3	7.6	3.2	7.0
			35-45	7.2	8.1	6.9	7.1	1.9	5.5
		Male	18-25	6.6	7.4	5.8	6.3	4.2	4.8
			35-45	7.0	8.2	5.5	7.6	1.3	5.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.7	7.9	5.5	6.5	2.0	6.0
			35-45	7.2	8.2	5.7	6.8	2.5	4.8
		Male	18-25	7.3	8.2	5.7	6.7	2.7	5.8
			35-45	6.8	7.7	6.4	6.3	4.4	5.8
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.4	7.8	6.6	7.3	2.1	5.9
			35-45	7.0	8.2	7.1	7.3	2.2	6.3
		Male	18-25	6.8	7.0	5.8	6.4	4.3	5.2
			35-45	6.3	7.8	6.1	6.0	1.9	5.8

Table 62 (Continued)

1. Contrast for race ($p < .0001$) -- Based on univariate and multivariate tests, whites are more likely than blacks to see as consequences of having good friends--trusting them, being loyal to them, not being lonely, and depending on them. Based on univariate tests whites are more likely to see "feel good" as a consequence but this shares much variance with feel safe which removes its significance.

2. Contrast for socioeconomic status ($p < .6059$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show the middle class is most likely to see "trust them" and "aren't lonely" as results of having good friends; the hardcore least likely for "trust" and the working class least likely for "aren't lonely." Multivariate tests show variance unique to "proud of yourself" with the hardcore most likely and the middle class least likely to see this as a result of having good friends; and also the hardcore is more likely to see "get respect" as a consequence, but here the working class is least likely. Univariate tests show the hardcore is least likely to see "help them" as a consequence; the middle class least likely, but the item shares variance with the preceding items.

3. Contrast for sex ($p < .0427$) -- Both univariate and multivariate tests indicate that females are more likely to see "help them" as a consequence of having good friends and males are more likely to see "getting in trouble together" as a consequence.

4. Contrast for age ($p < .0033$) -- According to both univariate and multivariate tests younger people are more likely to see that having good friends results in "getting into trouble together." Multivariate tests show that variance unique to "feel good" indicates that older people are more likely to see that having good friends results in feeling good.

5. Contrast for race x socioeconomic status ($p < .0438$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show that working-class blacks are most likely to see "help them" as a consequence of having good friends; hardcore blacks least likely. Except for the hardcore, blacks of the other classes are more likely than their white counterparts to see this. Also black middle class is most likely to see "trust them" as a consequence while hardcore blacks are least likely to see this. Except for the middle class, whites of the other classes are more likely than their black counterparts to see this as a consequence.

6. Contrast for race x socioeconomic status x age ($p < .0071$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that young, black, middle-class members are most likely to see "do things together" as a consequence of having good friends; older middle-class blacks are least likely. There is no general pattern for this item. Young, middle-class blacks are most likely to see "get into trouble together" as a consequence of having good friends; older working-class blacks are least likely.

Doing Your Own Thing

The old study found a reliable race effect ($p < .0001$) according to which blacks were more likely than whites to say that to do your own thing you have to be cool; whites are more likely to say you have to have something you like to do, be independent, want to express yourself, not be afraid of what other people say, to just be yourself, let it be natural and not be forced. A similar trend is seen when comparing the hardcore blacks with the high school blacks ($p < .0001$). The consequents show a contrast ($p < .006$) between black and white high school students, with the blacks more likely to see doing your own thing leading to feeling you have done something important and the whites more likely to see it leading to not being tied down by society and being mature.

The new data show a reliable ($p < .0001$) race effect, with the blacks seeing being cool and natural as the important antecedents of doing your own thing, while the whites emphasize having something you like to do and giving up other things in order to do your own thing. A dependable social class effect ($p < .0002$) indicates that members of the hardcore are more likely to emphasize being cool and middle class samples least likely to do so. The middle class is most likely to see giving up other things as necessary. The older samples emphasize being cool and giving up things more than the younger samples ($p < .001$). Details are seen in Table 63.

The consequents obtained in the new data show a weak social class effect ($p < .05$) according to which the hardcore sees maturity as an outcome of doing your own thing to a greater extent than the other groups. The middle class sees getting into trouble as a likely outcome of doing your own thing. The young are more likely than the old ($p < .001$) to see being satisfied as a consequent of doing your own thing. Older persons see the feeling of having

Table 63

Antecedents of to "Do Your Own Thing"

Independent Variables				Have Something Like to do	Give up Other Things	Be "Cool"	Don't Hurt Anybody	Independent	Mature	Try Different Things	Do It Well
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.6	5.8	5.3	6.5	7.2	8.1	6.8	7.5
			35-45	7.3	5.6	6.4	7.2	7.3	7.8	6.8	7.9
		Male	18-25	8.3	6.2	6.4	6.9	7.0	7.3	7.0	8.3
			35-45	7.2	5.5	7.7	7.6	6.5	7.8	6.5	7.8
	Working Class	Female	18-25	7.5	5.0	4.3	6.6	7.5	6.3	5.1	6.1
			35-45	7.8	5.7	5.3	7.2	6.9	7.2	5.9	7.7
		Male	18-25	7.5	5.3	5.7	6.2	7.9	6.8	6.5	7.1
			35-45	7.7	6.9	7.1	7.5	6.4	7.6	6.5	7.5
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	8.6	6.1	3.3	5.9	5.3	5.8	5.5	7.0
			35-45	7.5	6.8	3.7	6.7	7.2	5.8	4.9	6.5
		Male	18-25	6.8	5.4	2.5	4.7	7.3	6.6	4.9	6.1
			35-45	7.9	7.1	6.6	7.4	7.1	7.7	5.6	6.9
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	8.5	7.2	3.4	7.8	7.4	6.7	7.4	7.6
			35-45	7.7	5.6	4.9	7.5	6.6	7.0	4.5	7.2
		Male	18-25	8.2	5.2	4.0	7.1	7.2	6.3	6.5	6.4
			35-45	7.5	6.9	5.8	7.1	7.4	6.6	5.7	7.0
	Working Class	Female	18-25	8.3	5.6	3.1	7.1	6.8	6.2	5.5	6.0
			35-45	7.4	6.6	5.5	7.5	5.8	6.5	6.3	7.2
		Male	18-25	7.8	6.1	3.7	7.8	6.0	7.2	5.8	6.9
			35-45	7.5	6.6	5.7	7.5	7.1	7.2	5.8	7.7
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.9	7.0	3.4	6.9	7.4	5.8	5.7	6.9
			35-45	8.4	7.8	4.1	6.5	7.9	7.4	5.6	7.4
		Male	18-25	8.0	7.1	2.6	7.7	7.7	5.3	6.2	6.5
			35-45	8.6	7.4	4.0	6.0	6.6	6.5	6.0	6.7

Table 63 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Make the Opportunity	Know What's Happening	Have Help	Want to Express Self	Not Afraid of What Others Say	Just Be Yourself	Let It Be Natural
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.0	7.1	5.3	6.5	6.4	8.4	8.5
			35-45	6.4	7.8	5.7	7.1	7.2	8.3	8.9
		Male	18-25	7.2	7.8	5.4	7.3	6.6	8.0	8.2
			35-45	7.1	7.5	7.2	7.1	7.8	8.1	8.2
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.0	6.1	5.1	6.9	6.8	7.7	8.3
			35-45	5.9	6.2	3.9	6.2	6.1	8.6	8.3
		Male	18-25	7.1	6.3	3.7	6.7	8.4	8.4	8.6
			35-45	6.7	7.4	4.5	7.3	7.2	8.3	8.4
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	6.8	6.0	4.2	7.7	7.6	8.4	8.4
			35-45	6.6	7.4	4.6	6.9	7.3	7.5	7.7
		Male	18-25	6.3	6.4	3.5	7.1	7.7	8.5	8.0
			35-45	6.2	6.5	4.2	6.7	7.7	8.4	8.2
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	7.3	7.7	4.1	7.4	7.8	8.6	8.6
			35-45	5.5	7.3	4.7	6.4	5.2	7.9	7.1
		Male	18-25	6.7	7.8	3.7	7.1	5.9	8.3	7.3
			35-45	7.1	7.0	4.3	6.9	5.6	6.7	6.4
	Working Class	Female	18-25	5.0	6.6	3.3	6.9	7.3	8.3	8.5
			35-45	7.0	6.6	4.4	6.7	6.8	8.4	8.4
		Male	18-25	6.6	6.7	4.7	7.4	7.4	8.3	8.1
			35-45	6.8	7.5	5.0	6.6	6.7	8.2	8.0
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.0	5.8	4.5	7.2	7.7	8.4	8.5
			35-45	6.8	7.1	4.4	6.4	6.4	8.0	7.6
		Male	18-25	7.4	7.0	5.1	6.8	7.0	7.3	7.5
			35-45	7.2	7.6	5.5	7.0	7.3	7.8	8.3

Table 63 (Continued)

1. Contrast for race ($p < .0001$) --Blacks are more likely to see being cool and letting it be natural as necessary to "do your own thing" according to both univariate and multivariate tests. Multivariate tests indicate that blacks are more likely to see being mature and not being afraid of what others say as necessary to "do your own thing." Univariate tests show whites more likely to think that you have to give up other things in order to do your own thing, but the significance is removed by the first item--have something you like to do.

2. Contrast for socioeconomic status ($p < .0002$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that members of the hardcore are most likely to view "being cool" as necessary to doing your own thing while members of the middle class are least likely to do so. Multivariate tests indicate variance unique to "make the opportunity" with the hardcore and middle class equally as likely to see this as necessary to doing your own thing; the working class less likely. Univariate tests show the middle class most likely to see giving up other things as necessary to doing your own thing (working class is least likely), but the significance is removed by the first variable. Similarly, the hardcore is most likely to see know what's happening as necessary to doing your own thing (working class the least likely), but the significance is removed by make the opportunity.

3. Contrast for age ($p < .0009$) -- Multivariate and univariate tests indicate that older persons are more likely to see being cool as necessary to do your own thing. Multivariate tests also show that older people are more likely to see giving up other things as necessary to doing your own thing.

done something important and mature as consequences of doing your own thing to a larger extent than is the case with the young. The young see being happy and ignoring society's rules as consequents. The middle-class males are most likely to see ignoring the society's rules as a consequent of doing your own thing; the working-class females are least likely to see this ($p < .02$). Details are seen in Table 64.

Discussion of doing your own thing. Blacks and hardcore seem particularly likely to see being cool as an antecedent and whites are particularly likely to see having something you like to do as an antecedent of doing your own thing. There is no dependable race effect concerning the consequents of doing your own thing.

Table 64

Consequents of If You Do Your Own Thing, You...

Independent Variables			Are Satisfied w/self	Feel Free	Have Others Put You Down	Happy	Independent	Have Friends	Have Purpose	Get in Trouble
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female 18-25	7.8	6.8	2.7	6.8	3.3	6.6	7.2	1.5
		Female 35-45	7.2	7.5	3.0	7.2	5.7	6.2	7.3	1.8
		Male 18-25	7.9	7.8	4.9	7.5	5.4	5.9	7.7	3.1
		Male 35-45	5.7	6.4	3.0	6.3	3.7	5.9	6.0	3.0
	Working Class	Female 18-25	7.5	6.0	3.5	6.9	3.6	5.5	6.0	2.7
		Female 35-45	6.6	6.8	2.6	5.9	4.9	5.7	6.5	1.1
		Male 18-25	7.8	7.8	4.5	7.6	5.5	6.6	7.7	3.3
		Male 35-45	7.3	7.5	4.4	6.9	5.1	6.4	6.5	2.4
	Middle Class	Female 18-25	7.0	7.6	3.9	7.4	5.1	6.4	7.2	3.3
		Female 35-45	6.4	6.9	3.0	6.9	3.8	6.5	7.3	2.8
		Male 18-25	8.0	7.8	3.9	7.6	4.4	6.7	7.6	2.5
		Male 35-45	7.2	6.8	3.7	6.7	4.7	5.7	6.6	2.6
WHITES	Hardcore	Female 18-25	7.7	8.1	4.3	7.9	4.6	6.5	7.2	2.6
		Female 35-45	6.7	6.5	2.3	6.3	5.1	6.1	6.1	1.3
		Male 18-25	7.3	6.8	4.9	7.2	4.2	5.6	6.6	2.8
		Male 35-45	7.3	7.3	3.8	7.2	4.9	5.6	7.2	2.1
	Working Class	Female 18-25	6.8	7.0	2.7	7.1	5.4	6.1	7.0	2.4
		Female 35-45	6.4	6.0	3.4	6.8	4.4	5.9	6.4	2.1
		Male 18-25	6.1	6.4	4.0	6.9	4.3	6.7	6.7	2.1
		Male 35-45	6.6	6.3	3.4	6.9	6.4	5.8	6.0	2.6
	Middle Class	Female 18-25	6.7	6.9	3.9	7.0	5.0	6.2	7.0	2.4
		Female 35-45	6.6	6.7	3.2	6.5	5.0	6.5	6.8	3.3
		Male 18-25	6.6	6.8	3.5	7.3	5.0	6.2	5.7	3.0
		Male 35-45	7.2	6.5	3.4	6.9	4.6	5.6	7.2	2.9

Table 64 (Continued)

Independent Variables				Enjoy Life More	Aren't Tied Down By Society	Done Some-Thing Impor-tant	Mature	Ignore Society's Rules	Try to Better Self	Respon-sible for Self
BLACKS	Hardcore	Female	18-25	5.3	3.5	6.2	7.4	3.0	6.5	7.8
			35-45	7.0	3.7	6.3	7.8	2.3	7.2	7.5
		Male	18-25	5.9	4.9	7.0	7.2	3.4	7.7	8.1
			35-45	6.5	3.2	6.5	5.7	2.4	6.9	7.1
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.2	3.8	4.8	4.2	2.9	5.3	7.2
			35-45	6.2	3.9	5.3	6.4	2.1	7.4	8.6
		Male	18-25	7.1	5.8	6.1	6.5	3.4	7.5	8.1
			35-45	5.3	4.0	6.1	7.3	4.2	8.1	7.9
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.3	5.2	6.1	6.2	3.2	6.6	7.5
			35-45	6.8	3.3	4.7	5.8	2.4	6.7	7.1
		Male	18-25	7.4	5.3	7.0	5.2	3.7	7.0	7.3
			35-45	6.7	4.4	5.7	6.4	4.4	7.7	8.2
WHITES	Hardcore	Female	18-25	6.5	5.6	6.2	6.6	4.9	7.2	7.9
			35-45	6.1	4.0	5.9	5.8	1.4	6.7	6.7
		Male	18-25	6.3	5.0	5.7	5.1	3.4	5.9	8.0
			35-45	7.1	5.1	7.1	7.3	2.8	7.3	7.6
	Working Class	Female	18-25	6.7	5.2	6.1	6.5	3.6	6.6	7.8
			35-45	5.6	3.5	6.2	6.3	2.4	7.3	8.2
		Male	18-25	6.6	4.0	5.5	5.9	2.0	7.9	7.9
			35-45	6.5	5.1	6.8	6.1	2.7	6.4	7.3
	Middle Class	Female	18-25	7.4	4.6	5.7	5.7	2.8	6.7	7.2
			35-45	6.3	5.0	6.4	5.4	2.8	6.3	7.3
		Male	18-25	7.2	5.7	6.1	5.7	4.8	6.2	7.1
			35-45	6.6	5.6	7.0	5.9	3.6	6.4	7.0

Table 64 (Continued)

1. Main effect for socioeconomic status ($p < .0491$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests show that the hardcore is most likely to see that maturity is a result of "doing your own thing"; the middle class is the least likely to think so. Multivariate tests show that the middle class is most likely to see "getting into trouble" is a result of doing your own thing; the hardcore is least likely to think so. The middle class is also most likely to see "enjoy life more" as a result; the working class is least likely.

2. Main effect for age ($p < .0008$) -- Univariate and multivariate tests indicate that younger persons are more apt to see "being satisfied with yourself" and "having others put you down" as results of doing your own thing. Multivariate tests show that older persons are more likely to see "done something important" and "being mature" as results of doing your own thing. Univariate tests show younger people are more likely to see "be happy" and "ignore society's rules" as consequences of doing your own thing; the former being related highly to "be free" and "self satisfaction" and the latter to get into trouble.

3. Socioeconomic status x sex ($p < .0228$) -- Multivariate tests show variance unique to "ignore society's rules". The middle class male is most likely to see this as a consequence of "doing your own thing;" the working class female is least likely. Males of each socioeconomic class are more likely than their female counterparts to see this as so.

General Discussion

A major difference between the old and the new data concerns the black hardcore samples. In the old data the black hardcore sample responded with a clear "centrality response set." By contrast, the other samples, such as the white middle class girls, employed the full range of the scales. This is clear if we examine the ranges of the mean judgments on all of the scales, for each study. Specifically, the contrast between black hardcore males and white middle-class girls is as follows:

Type of Data	Range for Hardcore Blacks	Range for M.C. White Girls
Stereotypes	1.2 to 7.3	0.1 to 8.9
Behavioral intentions	1.1 to 7.7	1.1 to 8.5
Role perceptions	2.5 to 5.8	1.1 to 8.2
Job perceptions	3.0 to 5.5	1.7 to 7.5
Antecedent-Consequent	3.2 to 6.7	2.1 to 8.4
Average	2.2 to 6.6	1.2 to 8.0

In the new data the phenomenon did not appear. This raises several questions: Why did the black hardcore have a response set in the old data? Why is the old data different from the new data?

To put the matter differently, when the whites use always and almost always the blacks use more often than not; when the whites use never or almost never, the black use seldom or a small chance. What could account for such a difference?

We propose four conceivable explanations:

1. The black hardcore did not understand the instructions and/or the concepts used, and responded randomly, thus utilizing the middle of the scale, on the average, more frequently than the whites.

2. The blacks are more heterogeneous, hence, they do in fact differ in their viewpoints, and the average is more likely to be in the middle of the scale.

3. The black hardcore are not sure of themselves, so they prefer not to take strong positions (always, never), but only tentative positions.

4. The black hardcore of the previous study does in fact see only tentative connections among events. Things are not sure, ever, in the black ghetto; hence, everything is possible and nothing is impossible.

The first explanation seems highly unlikely. First, almost all the data make sense. It is unlikely that random data would make sense. Second, we employed a comprehension test and only the individuals who passed that test were allowed to answer the questionnaires. Third, the data of the black hardcore often correlate with the data obtained from the white sample, which is not likely to happen if the data were random.

The second explanation is plausible. Certainly, if we look at specific judgments we can see more black heterogeneity. For example, on the judgment concerning whether MOTHER is unimportant the mean of the girls is 0.1, i.e., almost all of them chose to say never.(0). The mean of the blacks was 1.2. On the judgment whether MOTHER is trustworthy the girls averaged 8.9 on a 9 point scale, i.e., picked the category always almost unanimously; the blacks averaged 7.3.

The third explanation is also plausible. Finally, the fourth is the most plausible, and it is notable that it does not conflict with the second and third.

The fourth explanation seems most plausible for several reasons. First, it seems plausible that living in a less predictable environment, both because they are influenced, to a larger extent, by outside agencies (the

police, welfare agencies) and in social structures which are less stable (e.g., sexual liaisons which are not frozen by marriage, as in the middle class), these individuals see events of the world as characterized by the sentence "Everything is possible and nothing is impossible." This situation is also similar to the concept of a value stretch (Rodman, 1963).

Second, the explanation is consistent with the observations of Malpass and Symonds (1971). These authors employed two young blacks for a summer. To their great surprise they discovered that the blacks did not believe that the University of Illinois would pay them, once they filed their time card. In short, while in the middle-class world certain things are assumed to have almost a 100% probability (e.g., being paid at the end of the month), in the ghetto the same events may be seen as simply "probable." Hence when the middle class says <u>always</u>, the ghetto may say <u>maybe</u>. Third, these observations are consistent with the data obtained by Judy Ayer (in preparation). Ayer administered verb-adverb combinations to ghetto and middle-class blacks, as well as whites. She found that the middle class responded the same way, but the ghetto blacks responded differently. Specifically, Ayer asked her samples to judge the verb-adverb combinations on a scale from "Yes, you can say that" (apposite) to "No, that cannot be said" (anomalous). She found many instances in which the middle class said the combination was anomalous, but the ghetto blacks indicated that it was possible to say it. Here, then, again the middle of the scale is used by the ghetto.

If the last explanation and partly the others are valid we still have to explain the reasons our black hardcore samples from the first and second study do not show the same response set tendency. We believe that the first study sampled more clearly socially disadvantaged individuals than did the second. First, the earlier data were collected by an experienced clinical

psychologist working in a ghetto drug addiction clinic; the present data were collected by a survey research organization, who undoubtedly did not sample the most deeply disadvantaged. Second, the definition of hardcore was different. In the first study the samples had a clear history of unemployment, drug abuse and bad police records. In the second study we focused on the employable unemployed. The point was to generalize to a population that could be trained, since the purpose of our project is to train people to work well in job settings. Thus, by our very definition we excluded habitual alcoholics and drug abusers. Third, the hardcore of the present study include individuals who are high school graduates and who have not attended college and individuals who are marginally employed in the sense that they have not had a regular job for at least three months, but may have taken an occasional day labor job. Thus, we might characterize the two samples of hardcore as "problem hardcore" and "ordinary hardcore" (although these names describe ideal types). The present study focused on people who are in fact employable, while the first study focused on those who are exceedingly difficult to employ. Finally, the old study sampled hardcore males of around 25 years of age, while the present study sampled both males and females and two age groups. We are, therefore, inclined to consider both sets of data as valid and to consider discrepancies between the old and new data as reflecting differences in the samples.

In discussion of our findings, then, it seems appropriate to refer to the problem hardcore and the ordinary hardcore. Specific discussions of findings have been presented in the previous reports and in the present report, after each section. Here it seems appropriate to attempt a kind of composite profile, of all the findings, across all the studies.

The major replicated finding across the two studies (the old and new data) is the relatively high suspicion and lack of trust of the black hardcore, both the problem and the ordinary hardcore. These individuals feel unimportant and traumatized. They look at the world with considerable negativism, suspicion and distrust. They want little deep involvement in interpersonal situations, and prefer formality (call him Mr.) even in ingroup roles. The white middle class are different in their willingness to criticize others, a behavior which comes more easily when one feels secure. Among males, the middle-class whites employ a kidding relationship, which is a mixture of friendliness and teasing, which might superficially appear as hostility. The blacks do not show this pattern. One sees in the black hardcore data a sort of "low profile" of interpersonal interaction, in which distance and formality is used to protect the self-esteem. The white middle class show an active involvement with interpersonal relationships, both more friendly and more critical, depending on the social situation. In short, the whites appear to be more complex in their responses, giving different kinds of responses depending on the social situation to a greater extent than the black hardcore.

We replicated the greater fascination of blacks with variable jobs. This may have important implications, since many jobs which are routine and invariable are likely to appear particularly uninteresting to these samples.

The antecedent-consequent study shows the most dramatic differences between the problem and the ordinary hardcore. While the problem hardcore blacks employ very weak connections among perceived events, the ordinary hardcore appear to employ connections involving highly desirable states to good outcomes. In other words, they indicate that relatively rare antecedents are necessary to obtain good outcomes. For example, to graduate from school one must be particularly interested in the subject matter; to get a good job

one must be exceptionally intelligent, or have very positive personality characteristics; to have friends one must have money. This appears to be a defensive mechanism which "explains" to these samples the lack of good outcomes in their life: Since rare positive qualities are needed to obtain good outcomes, it is no wonder that they do not reach such outcomes. However, it could also be that members of the ghetto culture (hardcore) who have good jobs may have to have these characteristics to break the white stereotype and get the good job. A second theme involves emphasis on what we want versus what we must do. One notes in the responses of these samples a stronger hedonistic component while the corresponding middle-class types are more likely to emphasize what must be done. The middle class are more likely to see satisfaction as the outcome of good jobs, in both the old and the new data. In the middle class, good jobs lead to hard work and are obtained through hard work, while lack of motivation leads to bad jobs.

All of the old working-class individuals seem to have low self-esteem. This may reflect unusually high American values for youth and success. If one is old and wealthy or young and poor, one can have self-esteem; but, if one is both old and poor that is not consistent with high self-esteem.

The hardcore is less realistic about the connections between what you do and what you get. For example, the finish high school, you must get passing grades, receives a rating of 8.3 in the middle class and only 5.6 in the hardcore. The hardcore sees ingratiation as necessary to get along with the boss. Finishing high school leads to concrete outcomes (buy a car) for the whites and psychic outcomes (feel proud) for the blacks, but the reverse pattern holds for getting a good job, which leads to satisfaction for the whites and buying things for the blacks. This may reflect the probability distributions of the real world. A black is more likely to

finish high school than he is to land a really good job, which not only requires a high school diploma but also lack of discrimination in his community. Thus, he invests psychically in the earlier event, and does not see concrete outcomes (buying) until he actually gets a job. The white sees a more direct connection between finishing school and getting a good job, so that buying is the outcome of finishing school. A good job is then related to satisfactions. A bad job is also related to low job enjoyment for the whites and middle-class samples much more than for the hardcore blacks.

The replicated themes of the previous and the present study are numerous. They should provide much material for cultural training.

References

Fiedler, F. E., Mitchell, T., & Triandis, H. C. The culture assimilator: An approach to cross-cultural training. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1971, 55, 95-102.

Rodman, H. The lower-class value stretch. Social Forces, 1963, 42, 205-215.

Symonds, J. D. Culture differences and social class in the Negro community. Technical Report No. 1, RD-2841-G. Urbana, Ill.: Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, 1969.

Triandis, H. C. Towards an analysis of the components of interpersonal attitudes. In C. and M. Sherif (Eds.), Attitudes, ego involvement and change. New York: Wiley, 1967, 227-270.

Triandis, H. C., Feldman, J. M., & Harvey, W. M. Person perception among black and white adolescents and the hardcore unemployed. Technical Report No. 5, SPS No. 15-P-55175/5. Champaign, Ill.: Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, 1970.

Triandis, H. C., Feldman, J. M., & Harvey, W. M. Role perceptions among black and white adolescents and the hardcore unemployed. Technical Report No. 6, SRS No. 15-P-55175/5. Champaign, Ill.: Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, 1971 (a).

Triandis, H. C., Feldman, J. M., & Harvey, W. M. Job perceptions among black and white adolescents and the hardcore unemployed. Technical Report No. 7, SRS No. 15-P-55175/5. Champaign, Ill.: Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, 1971 (b).

Triandis, H. C., Feldman, J. M., & Harvey, W. M. The perceptions of implicative relationships among black and white adolescents and the hardcore unemployed. Technical Report No. 8, SRS No. 15-P-55175/5. Champaign, Ill.: Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, 1971 (c).

Triandis, H. C., & Malpass, R. S. Field guide for the study of aspects of subjective culture. Technical Report No. 4, SRS No. 15-P-55175/5. Champaign, Ill.: Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, 1970.

Triandis, H. C., & Malpass, R. S. Studies of black and white interaction in job settings. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 1971, 1, 101-117.

Triandis, H. C., Vassiliou, V., & Thomanek, E. K. Social status as a determinant of social acceptance and friendship acceptance. Sociometry, 1966, 29, 396-405.

Triandis, H. C., Vassiliou, V & G., Tanaka, Y., & Shanmugam, A. V. The analysis of subjective culture. New York: Wiley, 1972.